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PUBLISHED IN THE DIAMOND JUBILEE YEAR OF THE UNIVERSITY

MEMOIRS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY, CULTURE & ARCHAEOLOGY

NO. 4

GENERAL EDITOR

PROF. LALLANJI GOPAL

SEMINAR PAPERS

ON THE

TRIBAL COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA

(C. 200 B. C. TO 400 A. D.)

EDITED BY

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

&

NISAR AHMAD

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CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY,
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY,
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1977

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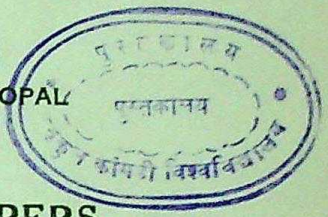

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Pulished by

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FOREWORD

Tribes have a continued life in India. Some tribes have maintained their distinctive life even upto the present age of rapid expansion of urbanization. The tribal set-up dominated the social, religious and political organization in the early Vedic period. As the tribes gave up their nomadic habits, settled territorial organizations came into being. The *Janapadas*, in the sense of territorial units, are noticed in the later Vedic period. By the time of the Buddha the *Janapadas* covered the map of northern India. The Pali literature gives us the names of the *Janapadas* in eastern India. Pāṇini and the Greek writers inform us about the *Janapadas* in western India. But all these *Janapadas* were essentially tribal in origin and were named after the tribes which had established them.

The expanding Magadhan empire, particularly under the Mauryas, overshadowed the tribal principalities. Their continued existence during the hey day of Magadhan imperialism is confirmed by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the declining days of the Mauryan empire they asserted their erstwhile personality. It seems that in the period of foreign invasions and domination they had a chequered career. They were apparently overpowered by the invading foreigners, but took advantage of the first opportunity to proclaim their independence. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription stands testimony to the fact that in the middle of the fourth century A.D. the tribal principalities had bent before the valiant Gupta King, but had not broken. We may not be in a position to trace their unbroken history in the subsequent period, but we do find tribal powers emerging from time to time. There is some evidence to show that some of the dynasties established in the early medieval period came out of the tribal stock.

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For the purposes of the seminar its organisers adopted a narrow definition of the term tribal coins. The pre-Mauryan tribes fall out of the scope of the seminar, because they are not known to have minted their own coins. The term in essence has been applied to the coins of the tribes of northern India which belonged to the period roughly from the second century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. The case of other tribes falling outside this limit has been variously put forward. It is thus pleaded that tribes of the Deccan and South should also be included under the name. In north India, again, tribes that appear after the fourth century A. D. are also required to be studied. It is further said that coins of foreign tribes may also be included in the study. Another suggestion is that dynasties, such as the Sātavāhanas, which can be traced back to any tribal name, should also fall within the scope of this seminar. The list of tribes belonging to the period of study can be taken to be exhaustive only in the present state of our knowledge. We cannot afford to rule out the possibility that further discoveries and researches may add new names. Recently the claims of two new entrants—Pāradas and Kumāras—have been advanced for inclusion in the list of tribes of this period. Their credentials require close scrutiny.

For any series of coins to be included under the label tribal coins the geographical or racial criterion should not have the deciding voice. Likewise it does not matter if the founder of a dynasty came from a tribal stock. The distinguishing mark is the fact that the tribe wields the political power and its name is associated with the coins. We do not rule out the possibility that there may be internal changes in the political structure, but what is material is that the power continues to be exercised in the name of the tribe as such and not in the name of any family forming part of the tribe. It is in this sense that the suggestion to include in our study the early coins of a few dynasties (e. g., Sātavāhanas, Kushāṇas, Ābhīras and Pāṇḍyas) which in the begin-

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ning formed part of a tribe cannot be accepted. The power even in the early years of these dynasties was not the concern of the tribe as a whole; it was the preserve of a family that originally had a tribal connexion.

There is a reasonable difference of opinion among scholars about the precise use of the term tribal coins, especially in relation to the other contemporary coins. In the period concerned we find coins of merchant guilds, small localities or cities and petty monarchies. The question is about fixing a term to cover all these series and also to have separate terms for different series. One suggestion is to describe all these coins as regional or local coins, whereas another prefers the use of the term tribal coins. Among the different possibilities about subdividing these series three have received greater attention: (a) local and tribal, and monarchical, (b) local and tribal, and (c) *janapada* and *naigama*. In the second suggestion 'local' includes coins of petty monarchies, cities and guilds; in the third classification *janapada* covers the three series of coins of monarchies, tribes and cities.

All these series of coins were connected with a limited locality and hence all are, in a sense, local coins. The term *janapada* has a similar usage. It refers to 'a community or people of a particular geographical and cultural unity.' The term implies both territory and population. Thus *janapada* may be a happy term to cover the city and tribal states. As the term *janapada* signifies 'an inhabited country' the suitability of its use for tribal coins has been questioned. But it has been overlooked that the tribes had long given up their wandering habits and had settled down in particular localities. The tribal states under study had mostly a non-monarchical set-up of polity. The use of the term tribal republics is objected to by puritans who would not use the word republic unless all its ingredients according to a modern student of constitution are not proved. But, in any case the appearance of the term *janapada* or *gaṇa* on some of the early

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issues of the tribal coins, coupled with the name of the tribes, clearly indicates a distinctive political structure in which power was shared by more than one member of the tribe.

The local and tribal coins have much in common, but their differences are equally apparent. We do not plead for an absolute division, but it is well known that for the advancement of learning and research smaller subdivisions are desirable in many cases. The only caution that we need take is to make the divisions as clear and defined as possible.

The time bracket generally accepted for the coins in question is fairly reasonable. There has been some attempt to arrange in a chronological sequence the coins in a particular series. All these views about the dates of the coins are based mostly on the palaeographical peculiarities of the legends on these coins. But, surprisingly enough, there has been no full-length study of the question. No doubt palaeographical considerations help us in fixing the dates in rough approximation only. There has, however, been considerable progress in palaeographical studies. We can determine the dates a little more closely and can fix chronological sequence with the help of a comparative analysis. A careful study of the position of the coins in stratified sequence at different sites is also expected to help in solving the question of dates. The point can be given more attention in future excavations at historical sites.

Coins are our most important source for the history of the tribal principalities. The epigraphic and literary evidence is limited in number and scanty in information. We have naturally to rely most of the time on numismatic data. The testimony of the coin has its own limitations. It cannot be used for all aspects of state and society. Moreover, coins merely indicate, they never describe. The coins supply us with some mute evidence; it is for us to make them speak. But this requires a lot of caution on the part of the historian using the numismatic data. Imagination has to be

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injected in a controlled manner. We should be careful in avoiding the subjective notions in interpreting the legends or the symbols.

A basic fact which has not been properly taken into account is that these coins were issued in the name of a particular tribe. We have to carefully determine the level of development attained by that tribe. It will be a definite historical fallacy to interpret any evidence in the light of our modern notions or our views about contemporary developments elsewhere. Anthropologists can offer useful aid in providing the details of the different shades of institutions that can obtain in any particular phase of tribal history. In interpreting any symbol appearing on the coins we may profitably look for its possible tribal association and significance. The figures or symbols can no doubt be related to the religious ideas and institutions of the period, but we cannot ignore the possibility of their having a totemic meaning. Likewise we find that inferences have been derived about the administrative set-up in these tribal principalities. But in many cases we have not cared to think whether such details could have existed in a tribal principality.

It is not the proper place to discuss the different problems connected with the tribal coins. There are controversies about the reading of the legends, the significance of the symbols, the attribution of the coins and their classification into types and varieties. Considerable headway has been made, but much ground still remains to be covered.

Recent years have seen some detailed research studies on tribal coins. The publications of M. K. Sharan, K. K. Dasgupta and Mrs. Bela Lahiri deserve special mention. All these have discussed the numismatic problems. But, whereas Mrs. Bela Lahiri interprets the coins for reconstructing the political history, K. K. Dasgupta emphasises the total personality of the tribes, discussing their name, antiquity and habitat, their political, religious and economic

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conditions, and their ethnology and social status. But certain problems still require to be enquired into in depths. In this respect the papers presented at the Seminar on Tribal Coins organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University in 1972 have their value. Several competent authorities of the subject contributed to the Seminar. Effort has been made to make the information up-to-date by adding suitable notes. For certain reasons beyond our control the publication of the seminar papers has been delayed for which we crave the indulgence of the scholars. We are sure the present work will suggest new lines of research and help in the proper evaluation of the role of these tribes.

Varanasi
January 26, 1977.

Lallanji Gopal

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PREFACE

The Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology decided to host the 61st Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India in early 1972, at Varanasi. It was also decided to organise a seminar, on the occasion, on a series of coins of Ancient India. As a sequel to the Seminar on Local Coins of Northern India, held earlier by the Department, in 1966, the topic 'Tribal Coins of Ancient India' was taken up for the Seminar coinciding with the conference.

The Seminar on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India was consequently held at Varanasi on 1.5.1972 in the Library of the Department, in two sittings. It was inaugurated by Prof. S.K. Saraswati, then Professor and Head of the Department of History of Arts, B. H. U., and conducted by Dr. K. K. Sinha, then the Acting Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology. Subsequently Dr. Sinha assigned to us the responsibility of editing the papers, submitted for the Seminar and to see it through the press. We are very thankful to him on that account. The publication, of the Seminar papers however, could not be undertaken immediately and was unusually delayed for reasons beyond our control.

Prof. Lallanji Gopal, after joining the Department, as Prof. and Head of the Department, reorganised the programme of the Departmental publications with vigour and determination. It is, indeed, very gratifying to acknowledge that his inspiring academic leadership, guidance and coopetion has already helped considerably to bring out a number of publications of the Department within a very short period. The publication of the present Memoir of the Department is an attempt in the same direction. We take this opportunity

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to record our deep indebtedness and gratitude to him for not only providing necessary funds for its publication, but also for the active guidance that he has always readily provided, as well as for writing a Foreword to it. It would not have been possible, indeed, to bring out this Memoir but for his valuable suggestions and encouragement.

The papers are printed here mostly in the form in which they were submitted for the Seminar, save a few exceptions. It is quite likely therefore that many mistakes may have crept in. We apologise both to our contributors and readers on that account. It is further regretted that as adequate notes of the discussions were not taken, the same are not included herein.

We also take this opportunity to thank all those scholars who contributed their valuable papers to the Seminar as well as to those who participated in the discussions to make it successful.

We are also thankful to Messers Ratna Printers, Kamachha, Varanasi for printing this work nicely.

Varanasi
January, 1977

JAI PRAKASH SINGH
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I

COINAGE OF THE TRIBAL REPUBLICS

Jai Prakash Singh

Ancient Indian tribal republics are divisible into two groups—the northern and the eastern republics. The early knowledge of the northern republics rests mainly on the material supplied by the Classical auothers and the *Aṣṭ-ādhyāyī* of Pāṇini etc. Some of these tribes are known to have resisted the invasion of Alexander. The coins of some of these tribes are known, but they are post-Mauryan. The eastern republics are known mainly from the Indian literature. They are, however, not known from their coins. Only the Lichchhavis of Nepal are known to have issued coins, but at a much later date. These, however, are not struck in the name of the tribe but their king.

I. Nomenclature

The term 'Tribal Coinage' is usually applied to the indigenous coins bearing the names of certain tribal communities. These tribes followed a non-monarchical system of government and hence may be called as Tribal republics, though they were not republics in the modern sense of the term.

The term 'tribal coins' has been used by Allan[1] in a rather comprehensive sense to denote not only the tribal, but also the local coins. The similarities between the tribal and local coinages are many[2] but their very nature is different and as such they cannot be referred to by a single term. However, if at all, they are to be referred to by a single term, the expression 'Local coins or coinage'[3] would serve the purpose well.

K. D. Bajpai suggests the use of the word *Janapada* for the tribal and local coins, as it is used in literature to signify

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'a community or people of a particular geographical and cultural unit'. The word *Janapada* is also mentioned on the coins and seals etc. of several republican tribes. Thus 'the term 'janapada', instead of 'tribal' can profitably be used for the indigenous coins.'[4] Bajpai seems to be convinced as regards the appropriateness of the 'nomenclature 'janapada.'[5] The word *Janapada* as a constituent part of the statebody, implies both territory and population,[6] it is also found on the coins and seals etc. of the republican tribes mostly to denote territory. The word *Janapada* as a constituent of the State is applicable to all types of states, but so far as the naming of the coin series is concerned the word *Janapada* can only be associated with the tribal republics. But, if the republican coinage is to be designated as *Janapada* coins, simply because the word occurs on their coins, then why not prefer the name of the tribe which is always met with on their coins. It is to be noted in this connection that the word *Janapada* is found only on the coins of a few tribes, whereas the tribal name is met with on most coin-types of the people under discussion. Barring a few controversial coins, whose attribution is doubtful, all tribal coins contain the name of the tribe that issued them. The main feature of these coins is, thus, the name of the tribe and its importance cannot be ignored while looking for a suitable common designation for this series. The important thing, therefore, seems to be the tribe and not the *Janapada*. Hence, the term tribal coins or coinage seems to be best suited for the present series of money.

The tribal coinage is local in character. The coins of the particular tribal republics are found from the region once it ruled. As the extent of the territory of these republican states, is not known with certainty from any other source, it can possibly be determined on the basis of the provenance of their coins. The known provenance of their coins, however, is indicative of the local character of the coinage, and shows that the territory at the command of these tribes was but modest and their resources poor.

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II. Problems

The coins of the tribal republics bear the name of the community that issued them. As such, the attribution of coins of particular tribes is not uncertain. The problem of the attribution of tribal coins, therefore, is not applicable to the coins of most of the tribal republics.

(i) The most important problem of attribution seems to be connected with the coins bearing the names of the socalled Audumbara-mitras-Āryamitra, Mahīmitra and Mahābhūtimitra.[7] The coins of these kings do not contain the tribal name Audumbara. Therefore, these kings may or may not have been Audumbaras. But it seems though that they were political successors of the Audumbara-Chiefs and ruled in the same locality and issued an almost analogous coinage.[8]

(ii) Another important problem connected with the Audumbara coins concerns the coins bearing *Mahādeva.* Recently the ascription of these coins to the Audumbaras has been doubted. It appears that the Mahādeva bearing coins are divisible into two groups, *A* and *B.* Coins of group A seem to contain *Mahadevasa raña Odumbarisa.* These coins are to be attributed to the Audumbaras as they bear the name of the tribe. Allan believed that these coins were issued by a Chief of the tribe named Mahādeva.[9] It appears that the legend given above is not incomplete[10] and the restored legend is full and correct. Elsewhere, I have pointed out that the word Mahādeva on the coins of the Audumbaras is used as a counterpart of the title *Mahārāja.* Thus, it seems that Mahādeva on these coins is used as a regal title and not as a personal name or sectarian epithet. This is also confirmed by the use of *Mahādeva* as a title even by the known Chiefs of the tribe. The Audumbaras preferred to call the other members of their Assembly as *Rājās* instead of Devas. The legend, therefore, may be rendered to mean 'of the Chief of the Audumbara Kings'. As these coins do not contain any personal name I am inclined to suggest these coins are the

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earliest issues of the tribe and were certainly struck before the coins of the named Heads of the Audumbaras.

The coins of group *B* bear the legend-*Bhāgavat mahādevasa rajaraña.* The ascription of these coins to the Audumbaras is doubted.[13] I am certain that these coins should be attributed to the Audumbaras. Their ascription to the Vemakis[14] is wrong. The *rajaraña* or *rājarāja*, part of the legend, further clarifies the position of the Chief or Mahādeva, as King of the (Audumbara) kings. Thus this Mahādeva too is not a personal name. And the coins, therefore, refer to the annonymous Head of the Audumbara State who was a worshipper of Bhāgavat, and was the King of Kings, by virtue of his being Mahādeva or the great Lord or King. These coins were perhaps struck by the same king who calls himself as Chief or Head of the Audumbaras on the coins of the previous group, is confirmed by the fact that the regal title Mahādeva has not been used by any other tribe. If the silver coins bearing *Bhagavat mahadevasa* are not attributed to the Audumbaras because they do not contain the name of the tribe, they cannot be ascribed to the Vemakis or for that matter to any other tribe on the same ground.

The legend on the coins of group *B* cannot be taken to stand for Mahādeva or Śiva, because regal titles are not usually accorded to deities.[14a] And the title *rajaraña* or *rājarāja* has to be applied to him if the legend is taken to refer to Śiva.

The two silver and a copper coin that constitute group *B* of the Mahādeva bearing coins, however, do not contain the Audumbara temple. But their typology is not dissimilar to those of the Audumbara money. Besides, the use of Mahādeva, a characteristic feature of the definitely known Audumbara coinage, brings the coins of this group closer to them, rather than to any other tribe.

(iii) Another important problem of the tribal coinage is the attribution of a class of Mālava coins, bearing unin-

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telligible legends. These pieces bear such legends as Mapaka, Magajaśa, Majupa, Mapojaya, Bhapamyana, Mapaya, Mogojaya, Pacha, Gajava, Maraja, Jamaku, Yama etc. These according to Smith are the names of the Chiefs of the Mālavas[15] and the names are of foreign origin[16]. "They certainly do not look Indian, but it is difficult to think what invaders could have struck them".[17] Since majority of the names begin with *ma* Jayaswal[18] took them as a contraction of *Mahārāja* but this view is not acceptable.[19] As none of these names are found in genitive, Allan takes them to be "Meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānām Jayaḥ*. This accounts for so many of them beginning with *ma* and for the frequency of *ja* as another letter of the inscription"[20] D. C. Sircar took them "as imitations of the Mālava money...minting of coins was largely in the hands of the goldsmiths..., when the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their own coins, local goldsmiths minted the imitation coins in order to meet the requirements of the people, who were used to the Mālava coinage".[21]

K. K. Dasgupta[22] has raised doubts with regard to the suggestions of D. C. Sircar. But the puzzle of these coins is yet to be solved.

(iv) Whereas almost all inscribed coinage is preceded by an uninscribed coinage in that particular locality the same cannot be said with regard to the tribal coinages. It is quite possible that most of the tribes now known from their coins, were subservient to the Mauryas at least upto the reign of Aśoka. They may have, therefore, asserted their independence sometime after his rule. It is quite possible that the tribal republics did not issue inscribed coins abruptly. They must also have struck an uninscribed money before shifting to the inscribed species like most local kingships. A careful study from this point of view is yet to be taken. The typology of the inscribed tribal money may perhaps be taken as a sort of guideline to determine its uninscribed predecessor.

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(v) The coins bearing *Bhānuva*[23] or *raño Bhānuvasya*[24] and *Rāvaṇasya*[25] bear some resemblance with the coins of the Yaudheyas. Besides this typological basis they do not bear any evidence to support their attribution to the Yaudheyas. The Yaudheyas remained a republican people upto the reign of Samudragupta. It is quite possible that these rulers carved out small kingdoms after the fall of the Kushāṇas in the neighbourhood of the Yaudheya Chiefship. Being neighbours of the Yaudheyas they struck coins on the pattern of the species of the tribe. Later, however, the Yaudheyas may have defeated them and annexed their territories. Thus the coins of these two kings should not be attributed to the Yaudheyas.

III. Commemorative Coins

Some of the tribal republics were contemporaries and neighbours of the Indo Greeks. It is, therefore, quite natural for them to have been inspired by the coinage of these foreign rulers. Thus the Audumbaras and the Vemakis issued a silver coinage to compete with the Indo Greek silver, like the Kuṇindas, on the pattern of the hemidrachms of the former. Likewise the Yaudheya silver was, however, inspired in all probability by the Western Kshatrapa silver. As the coins of the Audumbaras, the Vemakis, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas are not found in appreciable numbers—it appears, that perhaps they were not intended to pass on as a regular money of the tribe. But if they were intended as a regular money, the poverty of resources forced their issuers to discontinue them.

The coins with the figure of the Śaiva temple struck by the Audumbaras were meant perhaps to commemorate their temple. This shows that they worshipped Śiva and the temple was possibly situated in their capital. The coins were intended to provide a view of the temple not only to the Audumbaras living in obscure corners of the State but even to others. These coins may have been struck to comme-

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morate either some celebration or festival connected with it or merely its completion.

The coins bearing the figure of Viśpamitra are also commemorative coins. According to the Pauranic legends the mother of Viśvāmitra, in order to have a baby, embraced an Udumbara tree and consequently the sage was born to her in due course of time.[26] Thus Viśvāmitra came to be regarded as an ancestor of the tribe. The coins were, therefore, issued in memory of the sage who was not only regarded as the originator of the tribe but also as a great sage. It is possible that the coins portray both these aspects of Viśvāmitra.

The Yaudheya and Kuṇinda coins depicting Kumāra-Kārttikeya and Chhatreśvara respectively too are commemorative coins issued in honour of the deities to whose grace they attributed their independence.[27] There is no doubt about the commemorative nature of these coins as the figures of the gods concerned are accompanied by a legend that makes a reference to them.

It should, however, be noted that the tribal republics did not copy the commemorative medals of the Indo-Greeks. They may have, though, borrowed the idea of commemoration. Hence, these coins of the tribal republics should not be compared with the Indo-Greek medals of the type. Commemorative medals usually are not meant for being in actual circulation but a commemorative coin is struck as a regular currency. These commemorative pieces of the tribal republics are comparable to the similar issues of the Guptas[28], but not of the Indo-Greeks.

IV. Government And Administration

The tribes under consideration were ruled by some form of a primitive republican constitution which is indicated by the fact that they are all struck in the name of the tribe. The supposition that these tribes were ruled not by one but many members of the same tribe is fully evidenced by a class of Kuṇinda and Audumbara coin legends—

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(i) *Rājñaḥ (raña) Kuṇindasa (sya) Amoghabhūtisa (sya) Maharajasa (sya)*, and (ii) *Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odumbarisa.* It was opined by Allan[29] with regard to the above mentioned Kuṇinda legend that it makes 'an indiscriminate use of *sa* or *ṣya*'. This statement was based on the supposition that both *rājñaḥ* and *Maharajasa* were used for Amoghabhūti. Elsewhere I have pointed out that both these titles are not used for him.[30] I have taken the legend to mean'—of Amoghabhuti, the Mahārāja (or Chief) of the Kuṇinda Kings.' This clearly shows that there were a (large) number of kings among the Kuṇindas and Amoghabhūti was the Chief of them all.

On the basis of this interpretation of the Kuṇinda legend, I am inclined to take the title *Mahārāja* as suggestive of the office of the Head of the State, meaning great among Kings of the tribe. Yaudheyas are the only other tribe to use the title *Mahārāja* on their coins[31] and seals. Some doubtful Yaudheya coins contain only the legend *Mahārājasa* or 'of Mahārāja.'[32] The name of the Mahārāja', however, is omitted on these coins, indicating thereby that the Head of the State was authorised to issue coins in the name of the office that he held, provided these coins are accepted as the issues of the Yaudheyas. But we are extremely doubtful about their being struck by this tribe. The regal litle Mahārāja, however, is found used for a Chief of the tribe on a seal-inscription. The legend of the Yaudheya seal is discussed later in this section of the paper.

It appears that the significance of the Audumbara coin legends is not much different than that of the Kuṇindas. The Audumbara legend possibly means 'of king Śivadāsa, the great Lord (or Chief) of the Audumbaras.'[33] Mahādeva in this legend is indicative of the Great or Chief king implying thereby that the members of the Audumbara Assembly were called *Devas* instead of *Rājās*,[34] hence their Chief naturally came to be designated as Mahādeva or Head or Chief of the Devas. As pointed out earlier the coins bearing *Mahadevasa-raña Odumbarisa* are perhaps the earliest coins of the tribe

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issued by the Chief king of the Audumbaras without his own name. *Deva* also means *rājā.*[35] In literature also kings are often addressed as *Deva.* Chandragupta is styled on some of his coins as *Devaśī.*[36] That all the members of the tribal Assembly were called *rājās* is also borne out by literature[37] and the above mentioned legends lend confirmation to it.

The Yaudheya Chiefs in addition to being styled as *Mahārāja* are also mentioned as *Mahākshatrapa* and *Mahāsenāpati.*[38] This shows that the Head of the State of the tribal republics was not only the Head of the Government, but also of the army.

Once the multiplicity of rulers among the tribes under discussion is accepted, the form of their government can presumably be inferred as some sort of a primitive communal or tribal republic. All its members must have actively participated in all the socio-politico-religious deliberations of the Assembly and contributed towards the making of their state policy. But it appears that their administrative set up was not much different from that of the monarchic system as regards ministry and the management of the army. It also seems probable that membership of the Assembly was hereditary. These tribal Chiefships also maintained a cabinet of ministers alongwith a standing army.

We do not know anything about the tribal cabinet of ministers. A seal of the Yaudheyas, however, makes a veiled reference to their ministry. The seal bears the inscription—*Yodheyānām jayamamtradharāṇām*[39] Herein are mentioned the *mantra-dharas* of the Yaudheyas, or possibly their ministers who secured victory for the tribe by their secret deliberations, and are therefore mentioned as the holders of the secret of victory of the Yaudheyas. This legend is also indicative of the power that the ministry exercised over the Head of their State. The legend shows that the Yaudheya ministry was really a powerful body and was not merely a council of advisers.

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Indian political thinkers advice a king to discuss policy matters with his ministers taking adequate precautions to keep the deliberations secret. A well kept secret policy is called the source of success in politics.[40] The policy adopted or the secret deliberations arrived at after discussions are mentioned as *mantra*[41]. And those who kept it or maintained its secrecy must have rightly been styled as *mantradharas*.

Although a parallel evidence of this type, with regard to the other republics, is not available yet it seems possible that they must also have followed more or less a similar pattern and maintained a cabinet of ministers. There is however, no evidence to enable us to determine the nature and scope of its duties, but it may not have been totally different from those followed by contemporary monarchies.

Certain officers of the Yaudheyas are however, known from seals and inscriptions. A seal recently published by Acharya Bhagwan Deo[42] reads : *Yaudheya-gaṇa puraskṛitasya Śankararāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpaterindramitra gṛihītasya Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Senāpaterapratihata śāsanasya Dharmamitra Nandavarmaṇaḥ.*

The reading Śankararāja has been doubted by P. L. Gupta who suggests Mahārāja instead, which seems to be correct. This seal shows that the Head of the Yaudheya Republic could also be elected as a Senāpati or Mahāsenāpati. The titles Mahārāja and Mahākshatrapa are indicative of the High office than a tendency to become independent of the tribal system. Most coins of the tribe are struck in the name of the tribe, which shows that even though their Chiefs of the Government and the army used high sounding monarchic titles yet they were kept well under control of the ministry, and probably particularly their Assembly.

The title Mahākshatrapa, however, suggests that the seal belonged to the Chief who possibly led the tribe against the Śakas of Western India and asserted their independence.

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The Yaudheya coins bearing the name and figure of Kumāra on them were possibly also struck by him,[42a] as the legend of these coins contains the word *svami* as part of the legend. The second Chief is simply called a *senāpati* which shows that the Mahārāja and Mahākshatrapa of the tribe could not always get elected as the *Mahāsenāpati.* It is also quite possible that whereas the second Chief was the actual Commander of the army his predecessor was only a figure-head. This shows that the office of the Mahāsenāpati did not automatically go with the office of the Mahārāja. The word *puraskṛitasya,* however, shows that the Chief was elected or selected to the office possibly in view of his services rendered to the tribe. Since both of them are called Mahākshtrapas, it can be assumed that both of them headed the tribal-forces against the Śakas and liberated the community.

A fragmentary inscription[43] also uses the titles of Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati for a Chief of this tribe and thereby shows that the Yaudheya administration more or less continued along the same lines down to the Gupta period.

The coin legends of the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, and the seal inscriptions of the Yaudheyas indicate that most important contemporary tribal republics followed an almost similar constitutional and administrative set-up.

Some Yaudheya coins bear, at the end of the legend, the letters *dvi* and *tri,* which are supposed to be the 2nd and 3rd sections of the tribe or confederating units of the Yaudheyas.[44] It appears, however, that the words *dvi* and *tri* refer to some administrative divisions of the Yaudheya republic.[45] But we feel that a reference to the administrative divisions on coins is unlikely. Coins could only be used to indicate the mint that issued them. Therefore the letters *dvi* and *tri* refer only to the 2nd and 3rd mints of the tribe, which may have been situated in two different provinces of their state.

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The Yaudheyas were the most powerful of all the republican tribes. Therefore, they must have been followed by other tribes in matters related to their administration. It appears, though that majority of them issued coins only from one mint that was situated in their capital. It is also possible that their Chiefships were very small in extent and their resources poor as compared to that of the Yaudheyas.

Another interesting point with regard to the tribal administration is to be traced in the suggestion that the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas had dedicated their states to Śiva and Kārttikeya respectively. The suggestion was first made by J. N. Banerjea[46] and accepted subsequently by many others.[47] This suggestion about the dedication of their state by the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas has already been rejected by me.[48] It should be noted in this connection that the deities should have been given some regal titles if the coins were really issued in their name as their temporal rulers.[49] Only the Yaudheya coins bear the title *svāmi* for the God but this title by itself cannot be taken to show his position as the temporal lord. The Western Kshatrapas, who used the title *svāmi*, always associated it with *raño*. Besides, the title was, in most cases, used for sub-kings of the Western Kshatrapas, who were also authorised to issue coins.[50] Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the Yaudheyas dedicated their state to Kārttikeya, accepting him as their temporal lord also but gave him a subordinate regal title.

The attribution of the silver coins, and those of copper of the same type, bearing *Bhāgavat Mahādeva* cannot be attributed to the Vemakis.[51] Besides, they too do not show any thing like the dedication of either the Vemaki or the Audumbara state to the intended deity.

Thus there is no evidence to show that the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas, and the Vemakis etc. dedicated their respective states to their deities in critical periods of their history.

V. Economic Condition

In his *Arthaśāstra* Kauṭilya states that certain Kshatriya Śreṇis lived by trade and the use of arms.[52] The suggestion

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that this reference shows that "in some republics both the military and trading classes shared the political power"[53] is perhaps wrong. This reference suggests only the modes of earning livlihood by some of the tribes. Similarly some tribes are mentioned by Pāṇini as *Āyudha-jīvin.*[54] It appears, however, that most of these tribes were originally communities living mainly by the use of arms. But the establishment of a large and powerful kingdom by Mahapadmananda and the defeat of the Punjab tribes earlier by Alexander must have forced them to take to cultivation and trade. The politically weaker tribes, however, may have taken to these modes of livelihood even earlier and of their own accord. Thus can be explained the reference to some of them as *Vārttāśastropajīvins.* This, however, shows that they had not completely given up the use of arms. It is possible that they may have supplied mercenaries, and also regular soldiers to contemporary kings and states.

It was probably after the fall of the Mauryas that some of these tribes again asserted themselves and formed their own independent states on the pattern of their tribal set up and traditional communal administration. When the tribal Chiefships took over their government and administration as sovereign republics they initiated their own coinage to help their traders and to facilitate exchange of goods in their own state. Before and after the periods covered by the individual tribal republics, their trade must have been conducted through coins of earlier periods, whether these were punch-marked pieces or their own or other issues. But the bulk of internal trade in villages etc. must have been conducted through barter. Coins of the tribal republics must have largely been used in their capital and other important townships.

The coinage of these republics is struck mainly in copper and bronze and not many varieties of these are found except in the case of the Audumbaras, the Yaudheyas, and the doubtfully attributed coins of the Mālavas. Thus

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this scanty copper coinage shows that the economic condition of most of the tribes was not good and their resources were poor. The poverty of these tribes may partly be due to the militant spirit and warlike nature as a result of which military adventurism must have been a regular feature of their tribal life.

Some tribes like the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Vemakis and the Yaudheyas—struck coins in silver also. But this silver coinage is extremely scanty. It has been suggested, at least in the case of the Kuṇindas, that they issued this silver money to compete with the later Indo-Greek coins in the market.[55] But if it was in fact struck with a view to compete with the later Indo-Greek silver the politico-economic conditions of the Kuṇindas did not permit them to continue it for long. Allan did not express a similar view regarding the silver issues of the Audumbaras, Vemakis, Kulūtas, and the Yaudheyas, probably because the silver issues of these tribes are scarce as compared to those of the Kuṇindas. It seems, reasonable to think, that the circumstances of the issue of a silver money by all these tribes were alike. The silver currency was struck for circulation in territories that had grown accustomed to the use of a silver coinage under the rule of the Indo-Greeks. Similarly the Yaudheya silver coinage was struck to satisfy the needs of some region that used the Śaka-silver before its occupation or liberation by this tribe. Besides, the issue of the silver money by the tribal republics, presents a vain attempt to show off their equality with the Indo-Greeks, both politically and economically. But their resources and their political instability failed them miserably.

Sources of the income of these republics are unknown but presumably they must have been similar to those of the contemporary monarchies. It is quite possible that the individuals and families belonging to particular tribes may have been exempted from payment of all type of taxes and levies. The burden of the feeding up of the tribal treasury

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thus fell mainly on the people that belonged to castes and communities other than the ruling tribe. Members of the ruling tribe were possibly entitled to a share in the state-income, besides owning landed property and cattle etc., independently. It is reasonable to suppose, that the kings (rājās or devas) of the tribal Assemblies, must have been from each family of the community concerned. Kauṭilya's reference to a class of tribes, as *Rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*[56] is indicative of the fact that all kings must have been paid from the treasury of the tribal-state. It is possible that each king had his own allotted area, and being its ruler, was authorised to collect all taxes etc. Such collections, probably were to be kept by him as his salary. But it is not unlikely that a part of the collection was to be sent to the tribal treasury.

IV. Religion

The coins of the Audumbaras provide enough indications of their faith in Saivism. The depiction of the temple, identified with a Śaiva temple,[54] is found on most of their coins.[58] Trident battleaxe, and bull, found on these coins, definitely seem to be the emblems sacred to Śiva. The depiction of Viśpamitra, the ancestor of the Audumbaras, is indicative of the fact that the tribe followed the Brahmanical socio-religious beliefs. The Ārjunāyanas too were Śaivites. Some of their coins contain a bull in front of a form of *lingam*.[59] The tree-in-railing together with a form of *lingam* on others must be taken as *Sthala Vṛiksha* sacred to Śiva.[60] The bull before tree-in-railing obverse type lends confirmation to this suggestion regarding the *Sthala Vṛikshɔ*. The figure of Lakshmī on some of their coins shows her independent worship as the goddess of wealth.

The female figure on the coins of the Kuṇindas together with a deer[61] again refers to the worship of the goddess of Fortune both in human and animal forms.[62] The *Bhagavata-Chhatreśvara* coins of the tribe contain a depiction of Śiva[63] and are indicative of their Śaiva leanings.

The coins of the Mālavas bear a bull, tree-in-railing[64] peacock,[65] humped bull,[66] an antelope[67] etc. Some other

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coins bear a trident on obverse and a trident battleaxe on the reverse.[68] The solar symbol is also found.[79] These symbols and the performance of the *Ekashashṭirātra* sacrifice by the Mālava Chief Śrī Soma shows that the tribe followed Brahmanical religion and worshipped its important deities.

The Rājanyas were also Śaivites. Their coins contain a bull in a rayed disc and a tree-in-railing which definitely are Śaiva symbols. These Śaiva symbols confirm the identification of the temple on a coin of the tribe as a Śaiva-shrine. The female figure on some of these coins is that of Lakshmī[73] who was worshipped for wealth.

The upper part of a *triśūla*[74] was recognised on a Śibi coin. The Śibi coins do not, however, contain any definite clues with regard to their religious affiliation. But on the basis of literature they may be taken as Śaivites.[75]

The humped bull on the coins of the Vemaki Rudravarmmā together with his name suggests the Śaivite nature of the tribe. The coins with the legend *Vemaki Janapadasa* bear nothing with regard to this aspect of the tribe.[77] Their Śaivite nature is partly confirmed by the trident battleaxe on the reverse of the silver coins bearing the elephant.[78]

The coins with the legend *Trakata Janapadasa*[79] bear a four storied temple. On the analogy of other temple depictions on coins of this series, perhaps it can also be identified as a Śaiva temple.

Some Yaudheya coins bear the figure of Kārttikeya, at times with six heads.[80] A corresponding goddess on the reverse is also depicted. Literature mentions them as *mattamayūrakas*[81] and refers to their capital as a centre of Kārttikeya worship. But they worshipped Śiva[82] also. The depictions of bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva, are also found.[83] The female deity on these coins is identified with Shasṭhī or Devasenā[84] or the Kṛittikas.[85] The single headed goddess is, however, Lakshmī. Some coins contain a *Śankha* and *Chakra* on either sides of the female figure.[86] These are

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Vaishṇava attributes. But it appears that the Yaudheyas worshipped Kārttikeya and Śiva.

The Vṛishṇis were Vaishṇavites. Their coins contain a *chakra* and not a *dharmachakra* as held by Allan.[87] This *chakra* is identical with the *Sudarśanachakra* of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu.[88] But the Kulūta King Vīrayaśasa,[89] whose coins also bear "an elaborate *Dharmachakra*", was possibly a Buddhist. The Kulūtas are mentioned as *mlechhas* in *Mudrā-rākshasa*, possibly because they favoured Buddhism.

It appears from the observations made above that most of the tribal republics followed the Brahmanical socio-religious set up and their particular religion was Śaivism. But this does not mean that they were not tolerant towards other religious systems.[90]

References

1. *BMC, AI*, p. xiv.
2. *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 6.
3. *Ibid*, p. 7.
4. *Ibid*, p. 1.
5. *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 1.
6. *Arthaśāstra* II. 1.
7. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVI. But this attribution to the Audumbaras was doubted by R. D. Banerji (*Num. Supple.*, XXIII, p. 248; cf. also *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 161).
8. "All that can be said on the basis of the existing evidence is that ruling Chiefs of the Audumbara tribe were followed in their Kingdom possibly by a dynasty of Kings who favoured a monarchical type of government", Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXVII, (II), p. 130.
9. *BMC, AI*, pp. LXXXV, 123 f.
10. *BMC, AI*, pp LXXXIV, 123-124, Nos 14-16, 18-20.
11. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 129.
12. Allan also takes Mahādeva as a regal title, cf. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXIII.
13. *JNSI*, XXVI, II, 157-61; *ibid*, XXVII,I, pp. 87 ff; *ibid*, xxx, p. 61-67.
14. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61-67.

14a. Cf. The legend *Bhagavat Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ* for instance.

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15. *IMC*, I, pp. 174-77.
16. *Ibid*, I, p. 163.
17. *BMC, AI*, p. cvi.
18. *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 218.
19. *BMC, AI*, p. cvii.
20. *Ibid.*
21. D. C. Sircar, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 4.
22. *Ibid.* XXVIII, pp. 52-54. Dasgupta has read the word *Mahārāya* on one coin in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, cf. *The Mālvās; A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 122.
23. *BMC, AI*, p. cl.
24. *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 47f.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *The Audumbaras*, pp. 6-7; *JNSI*, XXVII, I, p. 90.
27. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 128, 134.
28. *Ibid*, XXII, pp. 180, 181, 182.
29. *BMC, AI*, p. cii.
30. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 126.
31. *BMC, AI*, p. cxlvii.
32. *BMC, AI*, p. cxlvii. The attribution of these coins to the Yaudheyas is now being doubted, cf. K. D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 90-91. But the attribution of these coins to Kausambi is wrong.
33. Cf also *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 129.
34. *Ibid*
35. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 492; V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 509.
36. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 93ff; 108; 114-15.
37. *Arthaśāstra* (XI.1) mentions some of the tribes as *rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*. Yudhishthira in *Mbh.* (II. XV. 2) states that there are kings in every house, which is a reference to some tribal states. *Lalitavistara* states that everybody at Vaisāli considered himself a king, cf. A.S. Altekar, *State and Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 114.
38. *JNSI*, XXXII, II, p. 154.
39. K. P. Jayaswal finds in *Mantradhara* a reference to the cabinet or the 'executive committee of the Yaudheyas. He thinks that its members are called *Mantradharas*. He takes the seal-inscription to mean-'those vested with the policy of the State', *Hindu Polity* (1955), p. 145.
40. Cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 137.
41. *Ibid*, p. 137 ff.
42. *Ibid*, XXXII, II, p. 154.

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42a. Elsewhere in this work an attempt has been made to attribute these coins to another tribe known as the Kumāras, cf., N. Ahmad. 'The Kumāras—A Forgotten Ancient Indian Tribe'.

43. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p.

44. *BMC, AI*, p cli. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 225; D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 167; *JNSI*, XI (I) p. 52; *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 119.

45. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXVII (II) p. 139.

46. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 118, fn. 1, 141-44; *JNSI*, XIII (II) pp. 160 ff.; *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 797-98, fn. 7.

47. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 121; P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Karttikeya*, pp. 42. The Suggestion is also accepted by Ajay Mitra Shastri in his Paper entitled 'Symbols on Tribal Coins: An Interpretative Study' Vide *Infra*.

48. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 127, 134.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 127, 134.

51. *Ibid*, XXX, pp. 61-67.

52. *Kāmbojasurāshṭrakshattriyaśrenyādayo Vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ, Arthaśāstra*, XI. 1.

53. A S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 115.

54. V. 3. 114

55. "Economically the silver coins of the Kuṇindas represent an attempt of an Indian ruler to issue a native silver coinage which would compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver," *BMC, AI*, pp. cii-ciii.

56. *Arthaśāstra*, XI. 1.

57. Sohoni, *JNSI*, IV, pp. 54-57; Banerjea, *Comp. Hist. of India*, II, p. 799.

58. *BMC, AI*, pp. 122 ff.

59. *Ibid*, p. 121.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid*, pp. 159-67, 288, silver coin No. 17, PL. XXIII, 6 bears a partly worn out figure of the deer in front of Lakshmī. It is not a horse as suggested by Allan.

62. Cf. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 134.

63. *BMC, AI*, pp. 167-68.

64. *Ibid*, p. cv, cf. also *IMC*, I, pp. 171-72. etc.

65. *IMC*, I, p. 171.

66. *Ibid*, pp. 174 ff.

67. *IMC*, I, p. 178.

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68. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 65.
69. *IMC*, I, p. 174.
70. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 252 ff.
71. *BMC, AI*, pp. cxxiii, 210-12.
72. *Ibid*, PL. XXIX. 12.
73. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 111.
74. Chakrabortty, *A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 208.
75. cf. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 449.
76. *BMC, AI*, p. 125.
77. *Ibid*, p. 280, No 9; K K. Dasgupta, *The Audumbaras*, p. 28.
78. *BMC, AI*, p. 125.
79. *BMC, AI*, p. 212, No 19, PL. XXIX. 10. Coin No 12 of the same plate may also be a piece of this tribe. Its attribution to the Rājanyas seems doubtful.
80. *BMC, AI*, pp 270-75; *JNSI*, XVIII, I, pp. 46-48.
81. *Mbh* Sabhāparva, Ch 32.4-5.
82. Śiva holding trident on coin nos. 12, 85, *JNSI*, II, pp. 109-112; *Ibid*, XVIII, I, p. 47; *BMC, AI*, p. 275.
83. *BMC, AI*, pp. 267-70, 288.
84. *JNSI*, V, p. 29, cf. also *JNSI*, XXX, p 182.
85. *Ibid*, XXIX, I, pp. 5 ff.
86. *BMC, AI*, p 278.
87. *Ibid*, pp. clv, 281
88. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 131.
89. *BMC, AI*, pp c, 158.
90. Cf. My Paper on the religious study of the Tribal republics of ancient India, printed at the end of this work.

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II

TRIBAL COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA —A STUDY IN TERMINOLOGY

B. N. MUKHERJEE

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Several series of coins, which bear the names of small republics, monarchies, guilds and localities and are datable to a period from about 3rd or 2nd century B. C. to sometime of the 4th century A. D., are known to scholars for a long time. There is, however, no unanimity among numismatists about adopting a common name for all these series of species or even about using a specific term signifying the pieces belonging to one of these four classess of coins referred to here.

A. Cunningham included all these series in his list of coins of ancient North India.[1] To E. J. Rapson these appeared as "coins of native Indian states from the earliest times to *c.* 50 A. D." (*sic*).[2] V. A. Smith made a more scientific approach to the problem by dividing these coins into different categories like the local coins, tribal coins, coins of kings of North Pañchāla and Kosala, and coins of kings and satraps of Mathura.[3] J. Allan observed that all these species "may be conveniently called tribal coins; indeed, on several, the word *gaṇa* (tribe) actually occurs in combination with proper name."[4] S. K. Chakrabortty's idea was apparently similar to that of Allan.[5]

P. L. Gupta considers all these species as local coins and further subdivides them into (i) local (ii) tribal and (iii) monarchical issues.[6] K. D. Bajpai divides them into *janapada* and *Naigama* coins.[7] N. Ahmad considers the issues of monarchical states, cities and guilds as local coins and the species bearing names of tribes as tribal coins.[8] Jai Prakash thinks that all these series form a regional or local coinage.[9]

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It appears that the scholars are not unanimous about the nomenclature of the above classes of species, particularly about the application of the term "tribal" to different series of early Indian coins. A clear understanding of the connotation of the term "tribal" in the context of Indian coinage is, however, essential for defining the scope of study of tribal coins of ancient India.

According to anthropological concept, a tribe is "a social group, usually with a definite area, dialect, culture, homogeneity, and unifying social organisation. It may include several subgroups, such as sibs or villages. A tribe ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor as well as a patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family or blood ties".[10] Coins struck by the kings, leaders, chiefs, or the administration of such a compact social and ethnic group may be called tribal. Though such coins were certainly meant for circulation in a territory, its area could not have been a very large one, since it was inhabited by a small compact social and ethnic group. From this point of view, tribal coins are also local coins. This trait, however, did not prevent a migratory tribe to issue coins in regions widely separated from one another in different periods of their history.

The essential character of the coinage struck in the name of a tribe may sometimes be considered to have been changed after a particular phase of its history. A locality named after a tribe, settled there, could have continued to be called by the identical name even after the tribe might have lost its hold over it or migrated from it. So coins bearing the name of such a locality need not necessarily be tribal. Again the adjective "tribal" need not always be applied to the coins associated with a people, which is known to have been named after a territory and so which could have included ethnically diverse elements living in that territory.

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If a particular tribe or one of its families established its authority over a vast country, much larger than its homeland or place of inhabitance, the coins struck by it for circulation throughout the area under its rule should not be considered as tribal even if they carried the name of the tribe or the family. They should be considered to have lost the tribal character which was noticeable in them when they were minted for circulation in the homeland or the place of inhabitance of the tribe or the family in question.

This concept of the tribal currency characterises it a series of species struck by a compact social or ethnic group for circulation in a comparatively small area. An examination of early Indian coins in the light of this definition may yield interesting results.

Ancient Indian coins bearing the names of a tribe and/or chiefs belonging to it and found generally in a comparatively small area may be called tribal. The list of such coins obviously includes the species of the Yaudheyas, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Kulūtas, Ārjunāyanas, etc. Though the available data indicate the presence of the Yaudheyas in territories widely separated from one another, it is not necessary to believe that they controlled all these areas simultaneously. This evidence may only high-light their migratory nature. So there is no difficulty in classifying all of their coins as tribal.

The word *gaṇa* appears on several coins struck by some of the tribes mentioned above. J. Allan erroneously took the word *gaṇa* as meaning "tribe".[11] *Gaṇa*, as it is now well-known, stands for republic.[12] Hence the tribal coins bearing the term *gaṇa* are also republican coins. But species minted by tribal monarchs should not generally be considered as coins of the *gaṇas*.[13]

The coins bearing the legend referring to janapadas need not ordinarily be called tribal, since the term *janapada* signifies "an inhabited country".[14] No doubt, some of the janapadas, which struck coins, were named after well-known

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tribes.[15] But before classifying such pieces as tribal, we must ascertain, with the help of other data, whether the issuers ethnically belonged to the tribe concerned and were not merely residents or rulers of a territory named after it long before the minting of the coins.[16] In any case, it is clear that all jānapada species are not tribal coins.

J. Allan included the coins of the Scytho-Parthian satraps of Mathurā in this list of tribal coins.[17] But obviously the satraps by themselves could not have formed any particular tribe. In fact, the generally accepted list of tribal coins does not include issues of tribes of non-Indian origin. This notion should be changed now. It has been shown elsewhere that the *Pāradas*, hailing originally from Media, settled in various localities of the north-western region of the Indian sub-continent and struck coins in a few of these places in different periods of their history.[18] Hence coins struck by foreign as well as indigenous tribes in an early period in any part of the Indian sub-continent should be within the scope of our study.

As noted above, sometimes a tribe or one of its families, which was in the habit of minting coins, could have conquered a vast area much larger than the territory originally controlled by it. The coinage of such a tribe or family was initially tribal, though later, with the expansion of the territorial limits, it became royal or imperial. From this point of view we may examine the coinage of the well-known Andhra tribe (the ruling family of which is referred to in epigraphs as Sātavāhana).[19] We may try to ascertain whether the initial coinage of the Sātavāhanas, struck before the formation of the empire, can be called tribal. We may point out here that the coins of the Yūeh-chih (Tokharians), to which people the Kushāṇas belonged, were tribal, but those of the Kushāṇas, minted in their heydays, were certainly imperial in character.

Students of tribal coins of ancient India are generally concerned with such specise struck in the northern part of

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the sub-continent from about the 2nd century B. C. to sometime of the 4th century A. D. The above concept of tribal coinage should now widen the scope of their study. Coins minted in the Deccan and South India by well-known tribes or by families which are known to have belonged to well-known tribes may be associated with the series of tribal coins of India. The coins of the Ābhīras (if Īśvaradatta of numismatic source is considered to be an Ābhīra), the early coinage of the Pāṇḍyas, etc., may be examined from this point of view.[20]

Thus the list of tribal coins of ancient India may include more series of coins than what is generally thought of, and the strikers were not all confined to north India. It also seems not prudent in the present state of our knowledge, to put a firm date beyond which we cannot expect to have tribal coins in India. Each series of tribal coins will have to be dated on the basis of available literary and epigraphic sources, stratigraphic evidence, discernable influences of datable coins on the series in question, and the data supplied by the discoveries of the coins concerned in association of datable species.

Each series of tribal coins, whether it can or cannot be dated, will have to be examined from all possible angles. Their shapes, sizes, weights, types, symbols and legends and the manufacturing technique revealed by them should be properly studied.

If we agree to define the scope of study of tribal coins as indicated above, much of the present notion will have to be given up or modified. It is hoped that competent scholars will direct their attention to solve this pressing problem.[21]

References

1. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 54f.
2. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 10f.
3. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I, pp. 143, 160, 184 and 190.
4. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, p. LXXIX.
5. *Numismatic Supplement*, no. XLVI, 1935-36, pp. 31f.
6. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, pp. 34f.
7. A. K. Narain (editor), *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India, c. 300 B. C. to 300 A. D.*, pp. 1-2.

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8. *Ibid*, p. 6.
9. *Ibid*, 17.
10. C. Winick, *Dictionary of Anthropology*, p. 546.
11. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. LXXIX.
12. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pts. I and II (2nd edition), pp. 107f; V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 428f; etc.
13. In such a case we should first try to ascertain whether the coin in question was struck in the name of a *gaṇa-rāja*, which type of ruler was not a sovereign in the real sense of the term. He did not wield absolute power. (K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 48).
14. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (1951), p. 410; V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 424. The expression *Khatapasa janapada*, appearing on a class of coins (J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 213), surely alludes to a territory ruled by a person or persons having the administrative title of *Kshatrapa*. Such coins cannot be considered to have been issued by a tribe, even if it is argued that the ruling family used the term *Kshatrapa* as a hereditary title.
15. For an example we may cite the coin-legend *Majhimikāya-sibi-janapadasa* (J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. CXXIV), which refers to the well known Sibi tribe.

    [The word *Janapada* stands both for 'people' and 'territory' according to *Arthaśāstra* (II. I) *JPS*].
16. As a somewhat similar instance we may cite the cases of the coins bearing the name *Kushāṇa* struck by chiefs who ruled in a territory named after the Kushāṇas and had no ethnic relations with the Kushāṇas. (B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy, Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, p. 21).
17. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. CXI.
18. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas-A Study in their History and Coinage*, pp. 35f. [The Pāradas have, in fact, been included in this group of coins in a recent study of the Tribal coins, cf. K. K. Dasgupta *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. 241ff. But the inclusion is not justified as the very nature of the coins and the legends of these species is totally different from those of the Indian Tribes. *JPS.*]
19. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 191-192.
20. In this connection see W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 35f; Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, pp. 58-59; P. L. Gupta, *op. cit*, pp. 43f; etc.
21. A Sanskrit synonym for the word "tribe" is *jāti* (M. Monier-Williams, *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit Dictionary* (1956) p. 812). We wonder whether this term can be used in connection with the study of the tribal coins. [Some of the views expressed in this paper are critically examined by K. K. Dasgupta in his book *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. XXV-VII. *JPS*].

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III

TYPOLOGY OF THE TRIBAL COINS

Bela Lahiri

The post-Maurya indigenous currencies of Northern India are conventionally designated as Local and Tribal coins. Monetary issues definitely attributable to particular localities are known as Local coins, while those bearing names of tribes are termed as Tribal coins. The latter were mainly the issues of those oligarchical tribes who asserted their independence in the Punjab and Rajasthan areas after the downfall of the Mauryas. The Nāgas, an important tribe of ancient India also established their power over a large portion of central India and their coins may as well be included in this category.

Of the Punjab tribes, we have coins of Agratyas (of Agrodaka), Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Rājanyas, Trigartas, Vemakis, Vṛishṇis and Yaudheyas. The tribes of Rajasthan who are known to have issued coins are the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Śibis (of Madhyamikā) and Uddehikas.[1] The Tribal issues were usually of copper, round in shape (if not stated otherwise), and die-struck.[1a] Some rare silver pieces, modelled on the bilingual 20-*rati* Indian drachm of the Indo-Greeks, were struck by the Punjab tribes like the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Vemakis, Vṛishṇis and Yaudheyas. The legends on the Tribal coins are usually written in the Prakrit language (sometimes influenced by Sanskrit) and in the Brāhmī script. Some of the Punjab tribes, however, used both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī alphabets on their coins. Thus while the Rājanyas issued two separate series, one with Brāhmī legend and the other with Kharoshṭhī legend, the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Trigartas, Vemakis and Vṛishṇis used Brāhmī on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse in their coin legends. These

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biscriptual issues recall the bilingual and biscriptual money of the Indo-Greeks who used Greek on the obverse in place of Brāhmī, and Kharoshṭhī written in Prakrit on the reverse.

The tribal coins may be grouped into three categories according to the name of the issuing authority they bear. Some of them were issued in the name of the *janapada*, viz., those of the Agratyas (of Agrodaka), Rājanyas, Trigartas and Vemakis of the Punjab region and the Śibis (of Madhyamikā) in eastern Rajasthan. Some were struck in the name of the *gaṇa*, e. g. those of the Vṛishṇis[2] and Yaudheyas in the Punjab and Ārjunāyanas[3] and Mālavas in Rajasthan. Others, viz., those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, and Vemakis of Punjab and the Uddehikas of Rajasthan, bear the name of the tribal chief entitled as *rājan*. The Nāga coins also bear the name of the ruler with the title *mahārāja* and having the tribal designation *nāga* as his surname.

We shall now make a broad study of the main types of the Tribal coins, one by one.

A. The Punjab States

1. The Agratya janapada of Agrodaka

In addition to the nine round coins catalogued by Allan,[4] and coming from Barwalla in the Hissar district of the Punjab, fifty one more coins, 'mostly rectangular', of this *janapada* have come to light from the excavations at Agroha[5] in the same district. It is therefore evident that Agroha is to be identified with Agrodaka, the headquarters of the Agratyas. Since the Agroha coins were found along with some Indo-Greek issues, they are to be dated to the second or the first century B.C.

The coins of this *janapada* bear two classes of legends, (1) *Agodakā-agācha-janapadasa* (*Agrodakāt Agratya janapadasya*),[6] i.e. [coin] of the Agratya *janapada* [issued] from Agrodaka; and (2) *Agācha-mitapad-ābhishayaṇa* (*Agratya-mitrapad-ābhishṭhāyi-nām.*[7] There is some difference of opinion regarding the

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reading and interpretation of the second legend.[8] Both the classes have the obverse device of a tree-in-railing, while the reverse varies. Class I has four varieties, viz., lion-on-hill[9] or bull-on-hill,[10] 'composite animal'[11] and 'Lakshmī standing facing holding lotus in left hand'.[12] Class II has two varieties, viz. bull right[13] and lion right.[14]

2. Audumbara

The Audumbaras are located in the western part of the Kangra district (Himachal Pradesh), and Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts of the Punjab.[15] The Audumbara coins may be grouped into three classes[16] (1) a series of square copper pieces, (2) a few silver issues, and (3) a group of round copper and billon coins without the name of the tribe. The copper and silver pieces of Classes I and II, bearing the name of the tribe may be dated about the first century B. C., while those without the name of the tribe (Class III) appear to be a little later.[17]

The coins of Class I, being distinctly indigenous in every respect, were the earliest and have a tree-in-railing with the forepart of an elephant to left over a wavy line on the obverse. The reverse had a domed and a pillared building (temple) beside which stands a trident-battle-axe.[18]

The coins bear identical legends on both sides, written in Brāhmī on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse.[19] The legends are of four kinds,[20] viz.,

(1) *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odu (ṁ) barisa*

(2) *Mahadevasa raña Rudradasasa Odu (ṁ) barisa*

(3) *Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odu(ṁ)barisa*

(4) *Mahadevasa raña Odu(ṁ)barisa*

It is apparent that the legends contain the names of tribal chiefs, viz., Dharaghosha, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa.[21] Some scholars discover a fourth Audumbara ruler called Mahādeva from the fourth legend mentioned above and find support for his existence in the silver coins bearing the name

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of Mahādeva.[22] But since Mahādeva in first three legends is used as an additional epithet of the king, meaning *Mahādeva* or 'a devotee of god Mahādeva', the same meaning should be applied to the word in the fourth legend as well. Had Mahādeva been used as a proper name in the last legend, the royal title (*raña*) should have been used *before Mahādeva* as in the case of *raña* Dharaghosha and others. Moreover, the silver coins of Mahādeva, which do not bear the tribal name and whose attribution to the Audumbaras is itself doubtful, does not make the case for an Audumbara chief called Mahādeva.

Silver coins of Class II definitely attributable to the Audumbaras belong to Dharaghosha[23] and have the same legend on both sides as that on his copper issues. The obverse of these coins depicts a tree-in-railing on right and a trident-battle-axe on left, while the reverse bears the standing figure of a sage, labelled as *Viśpamitra* (i. e. Viśvāmitra) in Kharoshṭhī. The tree device and the battle-axe connect these coins with the copper series.

Another type of silver coins having the figure of an elephant to left and that of a bull either to left or to right, with the legend *Bhagavato Mahādevasa rājarāja* in Brāhmi on the obverse and *Bhagavato Mahadevasa rajaraña* in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse,[24] are attributed to a fourth Audumbara chief called Mahādeva, as noted above.

The absence of the tribal name is not our only objection to the attribution of these coins to the Audumbaras. The non-appearnce of the tree which is the common emblem on all the known Audumbara coins[25] is another point which raises doubt about their being Audumbara issues. Moreover, besides some general similarity of module and fabric between all the silver coins of the tribal states, these Mahādeva pieces are not in any way connected by type or legend either with the silver issues of Dharaghosha or with the copper issues of the hypothetical Mahādeva.

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The round copper and billon coins of Class III bear the common Audumbara emblems of elephant (sometimes with a rider) to left and tree on the obverse, while their reverse shows 'male figure (Kārtikeya ?) standing to left holding a spear (sometimes with a shaft) in left hand. Four rulers, viz., Āryamitra,[26] Bhānumitra,[27] Mahābhūtimitra,[28] and Mahīmitra[29] are represented in this series. These coins also bear biscriptual legends, containing the name of the king entitled as *rājan* only. Although the tribal name does not occur on these coins, Cunningham seems to be justified in attributing them to the Audumbaras;[30] for, besides provenance, these pieces are connected with other Audumbara issues by their general features as well as by the specific devices of the tree and the elephant.[30a] Besides the common type mentioned above and used by all the four Mitra rulers, there were also some personal types. Thus on some coins of Bhānumitra, occur three symbols one of which is a familiar Pañchāla symbol.[31] But we are not in a position to determine on that ground if this Bhānumitra was the same as his Pañchāla namesake.[32] On some coins of Āryamitra, the tree and the elephant, instead of appearing on the same side occur as the obverse and reverse devices.[33]

3. Kulūta

The Kulūtas are located by Cunningham in Kulu valley in the Kangra district[34] (Himachal Pradesh), and were, according to Rapson, the eastern neighbours of the Audumbaras.[35]

Two classes of coins are known of the Kulūtas. Class I is represented by eleven square copper coins of a homogenous series, discovered during the excavations at Taxila[36] and Class II by the unique round silver piece of Vīrayaśas.[37] The coins of Class I are purely Indian in all respects and have groups of symbols on either side. The symbols on the obverse are, the six-arched mountain surmounted by standard, *svastika*, and triangle-headed standard, while those on the reverse are, the *nandipada* standard-in-railing or tree-in-railing,

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circlet surmounted by four *nandipadas,* conventionalised lotus, and taurine, arranged in different order on coins of different rulers. The Kulūta coins from Taxila, like their Audumbara counterparts, bear identical legends on both sides written in Brāhmī characters on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī characters on the reverse; but unfortunately, some of the legends are very fragmentary and can only be restored with great difficulty. Probably four rulers, viz., Ārya (mitra), (Sa)tyamitra, Vijayamitra and Vīrayaśas are represented by these coins.[38] Of them, only the legends on the coins of the last two rulers are complete, their Kharoshṭhī versions reading *[Raña] Kulūtasa Vijayamitasa* and *[Ra]ña Kulūtasa Viraya-[śasa]* respectively.

The so far unique round silver coin of Vīrayaśas, procured by Cunningham 'in the northern Punjab beyond Lahore',[39] betrays some foreign influence in its fabric and metrology. The types are, however, purely Indian. It bears on the obverse a wheel of twelve spokes surrounded by pellets, and two other minor symbols (*nandipada* standard and a triangle-headed standard), also seen on coins of Class I, within the circular Brāhmī legend, *Rājña Kolūtasya Vīrayaśasya* (as on the copper coins of this ruler). The reverse is made up of a ten-peaked mountain with a wavy line below, a *nandipada* above, a *svastika* on left, and a *śrīvatsa* symbol on right. The Kharoshṭhī version of the inscription on the reverse consists of the word *raña* only, written in two parts, *ra* on the left and *ña* on the right side of the hill. The coin, weighing 75.7 grains, appears to have been struck on the otherwise unrecorded 40-*rati* didrachum standard of the Indo-Greeks.[40] The Kulūta copper pieces from Taxila, like the silver coin, are also unusually heavy.[41] The evidence of the coins from Taxila, with full Kharoshṭhī legends, show that they were a little earlier in date than the silver piece with curtailed Kharoshṭhī legend, which cannot be dated later than the first century A.D.,[42] when the Kulūtas seem to have migrated from the Taxila region to Kulu valley.

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4. Kuṇinda.

The provenance of the Kuṇinda coins show that the Kuṇindas occupied an area between the upper coarses of the Beas, Sutlej and the Jamunā, in the neighbourhood of the Kulūta country and included some portion of the Garhwal and the Kumaon hills.[43] The Kuṇinda coins, known in two classes, belong to two different periods. Class I consists of silver and copper coins of the same type bearing the name of Amoghabhūti and are assignable to about the first cent. B.C., while those of Class II are copper pieces, which were struck in the name of *Bhāgavata Chhatreśvara*, some two centuries later.[44]

Both the silver and copper pieces belonging to Class I have identical types. The obverse bears on the left a deer to right with three minor symbols around a female figure (Lakshmī ?) on right standing facing (sometimes on lotus), and holding flower in right hand. The reverse has six symbols, a six-peaked mountain surmounted by *nandipada*, a wavy line below, a tree-in-railing to right, and a *svastika* above a triangle-headed object to left. The silver coins are modelled on the 20-*rati* Indian drachm of the Indo-Greeks and bear the Brāhmī legend, *Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasya (or sa) Amoghabhūtisya (or sa) Mahārājasya* (or *sa*) on the obverse and its Kharoshṭhī counterpart, *Raña Kuṇimdasa Amoghabhutisa Mahārajasa* on the reverse.[45]

The copper coins are of three main varieties—(1) one of 'neat fabric with good legends' (which are approximately of the size of silver coins),[46] (2) another of coarse fabric and very incomplete legends' (which are of various sizes and denominations)[47] and (3) the third 'of a larger diameter' which are rudely made'.[48] All these copper issues bear on the obverse the same Brāhmī legend as on the silver pieces while the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse is replaced by a border of dots.

The coins of Class II are large pieces of copper, modelled on similar Kushāṇa issues.[49] They depict on the

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obverse a male figure (Śiva) standing facing, holding trident-axe in right hand and having a flower or star over his left shoulder. The reverse shows a deer to left with some minor symbols around, a wavy line below, a tree-in-railing, six-peaked hill and a triangle-headed standard, arranged in different order in different varieties. The deer and the other symbols connect the coins of the two series. Like the copper pieces of Class I those of Class II bear Brāhmī legend on the obverse and a border of dots (in place of Kharoshṭhī legend) on the reverse. The (obverse) Brāhmī legend reads, *Bhagavata(ḥ) Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ.*

5. Rājanya Janapada

The Rājanyas are located in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab and were the neighbours of the Audumbaras.[51] Their coins, known only in copper, are of two series-one with Brāhmī legend,[52] and the other with Kharoshṭhī legend.[53] Both have identical types and bear on the obverse the standing figure of a deity (Lakshmī) holding a lotus in right hand (resembling the standing female figure on the Mathura coins), and on the reverse a bull standing to left within a rayed circle. The legend, whether in Brāhmī or in Kharoshṭhī, occurs on the obverse and reads, *Rājaña-janapadasa.* Some coins belonging to two other obscure types with undecipherable legend are doubtfully attributed to the Rājanyas.[54]

6. Trigarta Janapada

The name of this *janapada* is actually derived from the fact that it was a land 'watered by three rivers,[55] viz. the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej and is identified with the Jalandhara country. The only known coin of the Trigartas is a square copper piece bearing on the obverse three small symbols in the centre and the Brāhmī legend, (above) *Takata ja-*(below)-*napadasa,* and on the reverse a four-peaked hill with traces of Kharoshṭhī legend around.[56] The coin may be dated about the first century B. C.

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7. Vemaki janapada

The Vaimakis or Vemakis are to be located in the north-eastern Punjab, in the neighbourhood of the Audumbara country.[57] Coins on which the name of the tribe occurs are of two classes, one of square copper and the other of (round) silver. Of the copper coins we have a single specimen in the British Museum[58] which bears on the obverse the devices of an elephant to right with the *nandipada* symbol behind, and on the reverse a bull to left with a *nandipada* and *svastika*. It bears only fragmentary Brāhmī legend on the obverse, reading *V(e)mak(a ja)napadasa*. The legend thus seems to refer to the *janapada* of the Vemakis.

The silver coins depict on the obverse an elephant to right with a trident-axe on left, and on the reverse a bull to right with lotus in front. The figure of the elephant and the bull connect the silver pieces with the copper coin. The silver issues bear the legend *Rājñ[o] Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayaka* in Brāhmī on the obverse, and *Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayaya* in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. These coins are modelled on the 20-*rati* Indian drachm of the Indo-Greeks and bear a close resemblance to the Elephant-Bull-type round silver pieces of Apollodotus I Soter.[60]

Closely connected by type and fabric with these are the silver issues of *Bhagavata Mahādeva* bearing the figure of an elephant to left on the obverse and that of a bull, either to right or to left on the reverse.[61] The absence of the tribal name on them makes it difficult to attribute them definitely to any known tribe. The issuer, however, seems to be very closely connected with the Vaimakis.[62]

8. Vṛishṇi

A unique silver coin is the sole evidence of the political existence of the Vṛishṇis, a well known people of antiquity. The coin has on its obverse a sort of *nandipada* standard-in-railing with composite animal, half-lion and half-elephant, in front and the circular Brāhmī legend, *Vṛishṇi-rājaṇā*

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gaṇasya tratarasya.[63] The reverse has in pellet border an elaborate *chakra* of twelve spokes and the circular Kharoshṭhī legend, *Vṛishṇi rājañña (gaṇasa) tra (tarasa).*

The evidence of the coin shows that the Vṛishṇis who issued this coin were the inhabitants of the land between the upper coarses of the Ravi and the Beas[63a] and were neighbours of the Audumbaras on the one hand and the Kulūtas on the other. The coin may be dated about the first century B.C. or A.D.

9. Yaudheya Gaṇa

The Yaudheya territory comprised an area extending from Bahawalpur in the West to Kangra in the east along the Sutlej and the Beas and stretched up to Bharatpur in the south.[64] The Yaudheya coins are classified into six groups. Class I consists of a series of small coins of copper and potin, which are generally uninscribed, except for one variety bearing the legend *Mahārājasa* in Brāhmī.[65] They are connected by their metal, fabric and provenance with the coins of Class II bearing the name of the tribe. The coins of Class II depict on the obverse a bull to right standing before a *Yūpa* or a sacrificial post and on the reverse an elephant to right with *nandipada* above and a flying pennon behind it.[66] The Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañke.*[67] Some coins of this class read *Yaudheyānāṁ* only.[68] A square copper coin with a bull to right and the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ* constitutes Class V.[69]

Class III consists of a unique silver coin and an extensive series of copper coins of the same type, closely connected in type and style with the Kuṇinda coins of Amoghabhūti. The silver coin bears on the obverse the figure of six-headed Kārtikeya and on the reverse that of a goddess, identified with Shashṭhī or Devasenā, the consort of Kārtikeya, standing facing on a lotus flanked by a six-peaked hill surmounted by *nandipada* and tree-in-railing on either side. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads *Bhagavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyasya*

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(or *sa*) *Yaudheya*.[70] The copper coins which are of the same type have a slightly different legend, *Bhagavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or °*devasa*) *Kumārasya* (or *Kumārasa*).[71] There are many varieties in the copper series. A coin of the same module as those of Class III and having on the obverse the Brāhmī legend *Bhānuva*-between a mountain and *svastika* above and a snake below, and on the reverse a trident and a standard, each in a railing, constitute Class IV.[72]

Coins of Class VI are well-executed round copper pieces having distinct Kushāṇa influence in their type and module. They depict on the obverse the figure of Kārtikeya with his peacock and on the reverse that of Lakshmī standing in an attitude resembling Mao or Miiro on Kushāṇa coins.[73] The Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*,[74] with the addition of *dvi* or *tri* at the end of the legend on two varieties.[75]

The Yaudheya coins are of three different poriods.[76] Classes I, II, and V are the earliest and may be dated about the second and first centuries B.C. Classes III and IV belong to the first and second centuries A.D., while those of Class IV are of the post-Kushāṇa period, i.e., of the third and fourth centuries A. D.

B. Rajasthan States

1. Ārjunāyana

The Ārjunāyanas lived within the area between Delhi, Agra and Jaipur and were the neighbours of the Yaudheyas on the north and the Mālavas on the south.[77] Their coins are very rare and are of two types.[77a] Type I has a standing female figure (Lakshmī?) between a sacrificial post on left and a tree-in-railing on right on the obverse, with the Brāhmī legend, *Ajunāyanana*, and a bull to left on hill (?) on the reverse.[78] Type 2 depicts a bull to right before a sacrificial post and the Brāhmī legend, *Ajunāyanana jaya* (i. e. *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*) and an elephant to right before tree-in-railing on the reverse.[79] These resemble the Yaudheya coins

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of Class II and may be dated about the middle of the first century B.C.[80]

2. Mālava Gaṇa

The Mālavas originally dwelt in the Punjab region during the time of Alexander. But their coins show that they gradually migrated to the south and settled in the Jaipur area in eastern Rajasthan during the post-Maurya period.[81] Their coins are of two broad classes, one bearing the name of the tribe and the other with some enigmatic names whose significance is unintelligible.[82] The Mālava coins are very small and resemble the Nāga coinage in type and size.[83] The Indian Museum coin weighing 1.7 gr. (diam .2″) is one of the smallest coins of the world.[84]

The coins of Class I has different varieties according to the reverse devices which are usually vase, lion, bull, fantail peacock, king's head (?), and other obscure designs (solar symbol, snake, *nandipada* etc.).[85] The obverse is generally occupied by the Brāhmī legend, sometimes accompanied by a minor symbol like tree-in-railing. The legend varies from Prakrit to Sanskrit and is sometimes continued to the reverse. The following varieties of legends are noticed[86]— (a) *Mala*, (b) *Malaya* or *Mālaya*, (c) *Malava* or *Mālava*, (d) *Mālava jaya*, (e) *Mālavanā jaya*, or its variants, *Mālavana jaya*, *Malavaṇa jaya* or *Malavahṇa jaya*, (f) *Mālavānāṁ*, (g) *Mālavagaṇasya*, (h) *Mālava sujaya*, and (i) *Mālava gaṇasya jaya*.

Coins of Class II which do not bear the tribal name closely resemble those of Class I, have generally similar types and are found in association with them. One of these coins has a two-line legend, *Mālava* and *Majupa*,[87] which proves that those were issued by the Mālavas themselves. The names so far found on them are, (1) *Bhapaṁyana*, (2) *Yama* (or *Maya* ?), (3) *Majupa* (?), (4) *Mapojaya*, (5) *Mapaya*, (6) *Magajaśa*, (7) *Magaja*, (8) *Magojava*, (9) *Gojara*, (10) *Maśapa*, (11) *Mapaka*, (12) *Yama* (II?), (13) *Pachha*, (14)

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Magachha (?), (15) *Gajava*, (16) *Jāmaka*, (17) *Jamapaya*, (18) *Paya*, (19) *Mahārāya* and (20) *Maraja*.[88]

The two series did not succeed one another but were more or less contemporary.[89] Coins with Prakrit legends were earlier and may go back to about the first century B.C., while those with Sanskrit legends may be as late as the fourth century A.D.[90]

3. Śibi Janapada of Madhyamikā

Like the Mālavas, the Śibis were also originally the inhabitants of the Punjab region during Alexander's time and afterwards migrated to eastern Rajasthan. Śibi coins are usually found near Chitor,[91] where probably is to be located Mādhyamikā, from which place the Śibis struck their coins.[92]

The Śibi coins generally bear on the obverse two symbols, viz. a *svastika* with a taurine at each prong and a tree rising from a circle, and on the reverse a six-peaked hill with a *nandipada* above and a wavy line below. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse are of two varieties, (a) *Śibi Janapadasa*,[93] and (b) *Majhamikāya Śibi Janapadasa*.[94] A rare subvariety having the legend of variety (a) has tree on the obverse and *svastika* on the reverse.[95] The Śibi coins may be dated about the first century B.C.

4. Uddehika

The Uddehikas are located near Bayana in the former Bharatpur state.[96] Most of the Uddehika coins came from excavations at Rairh (Jaipur state).[97] The Uddehika coins are square and bear two types of Brāhmī legends on the obverse, (a) *Udehaki*,[98] and (b) *Udehaki Suyamitasa*.[99] The obverse of both the types bears three symbols, viz, the Ujjayini symbol, a tank with two fishes and a tree-in-railing, arranged in different order in different types. The reverse of Type I has a tree-in-railing laid on its side over a bull to right, while that of Type 2 has an elephant to left with traces

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of other symbols, and countermarked with the triangle-headed standard.

Closely connected with these coins and found along with them there is another series of larger and heavier square copper pieces, with the apellation 'Sudavapa' before the issuer's name. Two rulers are known from these coins, Sūryamitra[100] and Dhruvamitra.[101] The obverse of Sūryamitra's coins has a bull to left with three symbols, of which the Ujjain symbol is also found on Udehaki Sūryamitra's coins, and the Brāhmī legend, *Sudavapa Suyamitasa*. The reverse depicts four symbols, a meandering river with fishes, a star, a six-peaked hill and another symbol. Dhruvamitra's coins, of several varieties, show similar symbols.

Both the Uddehika and Sudavapa coins are assignable to the first century B. C.

C. The Nāgas[101a]

According to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Nāga kings ruled from Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathura.[102] The *Purāṇas* also refer to Nāga rule at Vidiśā.[103] Nāga coins are discovered from all these places.[104] Twelve Nāga rulers are so far known from coins coming from these places. They are, (1) Bhavanāga, (2) Bhīmanāga, (3) Bṛihaspatināga, (4) Devanāga, (5) Gaṇapatināga, (6) Prabhākaranāga, (7) Ravināga, (8) Skandanāga, (9) Vasunāga, (10) Vibhunāga, (11) Vṛishabha or Vṛishanāga, and (12) Vyāghranāga.

The Nāga coins are very small pieces of copper, resembling the Mālava coins; but they are larger and thicker in fabric. They generally bear on the obverse some small device, such as, the bull, peacock, trident, wheel or something else, and on the reverse the name of the king along with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārāja śrī*, covering the whole flan of the coin in a circular way. The coin flan being very small, the full name of the king is not always seen on the coin.

The bull, being connected with the national cult of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, who were devotees of Śiva, is the commonest

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emblem on the Nāga coins. It is seen on the coins of all the Nāga rulers[105] excepting probably Bhīmanāga,[106] Vasunāga and Vyāghranāga. The next commonest device was the wheel which was used by Bṛihaspatināga, Devanāga, Gaṇapatināga, Vasunāga, Vibhunāga, and Vyāghranāga.[107] The figure of peacock is seen on the coins of Bhīmanāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Skandanāga and Vasunāga.[108] The Trident type was used by Bhavanāga, Bṛihaspatināga and Devanāga,[109] while the Battle-axe type appears on the coins of Prabhākara, Ravināga and Vibhunāga.[110] Besides these, there were some personal devices, such as, the triangle-headed-standard (struck by Ravināga),[111] prancing horse ? (used by Skandanāga and Gaṇapati),[112] crescent (used by Bhavanāga and Vibhunāga),[113] *liṅga* (by Vibhunāga),[114] lion (by Prabhākara),[115] head to right (by Gaṇapati),[116] and tree (Gaṇapati).[117] The coins of Gaṇapatināga are the most numerous and of a number of varieties and come from all the four Nāga centres, viz., Vidiśā, Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā. The coins of Bhavanāga show a variety of royal titles.[118] The Nāga coins range between the second and fourth centuries A. D.[119]

References

1. [Some Kshudraka coins were recently published from Nohar in Rajasthan in *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 13ff. Pl. V. 1-2. *JPS.*]

1a. The discovery of terracotta moulds for the Yaudheya coins of Class II from Rohtak and of Class VI from Sunet shows that coins of these two classes were also produced by the casting process: see B Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, 1945.

2. According to Allan, the legend of the Vṛishṇi coins refers to the *gaṇa* of the Vṛishṇis : *BMC, AI*, p. clvi.

3. Although the legend on the Ārjunāyana coins does not refer to their *gaṇa*, it is in the nature of the legends like *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ* and *Yaudheyagaṇasya jayaḥ*.

4. *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum* (*BMC, AI*), pp. cliii and 279, No. 1 and pp. clvii and 282-283, Nos. 22-29. *The Indian Museum Catalogue (IMC)* Coin (p. 206, No. 11 Pl. XXIII. 12) is also attributed to this *janapada*

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(*JNSI*, XXXII, p. 19). But we are not sure about its reading.

5. H. L. Srivastava, *Excavations at Agroha, Punjab*, 1952 (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 61).
6. *BMC, AI*, pp. cliii, clvii-clviii, 279, No. 1 and 282-283, Nos. 26, 28, 29.
7. *Ibid*, pp. clviii and 282-283, Nos. 22-25 and 27.
8. For different views see L. D. Barnett, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. X, p. 279; and D. C. Sircar, *Our Heritage*, No. 2, p. 72.
9. *BMC, AI*, p. cliii, No. 1 and p. 279, Pl. XLV. 9.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 282, Pl. XLV. 23. Allan described it as a lion, but a look at the plate clearly shows that it is a 'bull-on-hill'.
11. This variety is noticed by H. L. Srivastava, in *Excavations at Agroha*, p. 5.
12. *BMC, AI*, p. 283, Pl. XLV. 24.
13. *Ibid*, p. 282, Pl. XLV. 21.
14. *Ibid*, p. 282, Nos. 24-25.
15. Cf. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India (CAI)*, pp. 66-67.
16. Cf. *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxiii.
17. *Ibid*, pp. lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi.
18. Cunningham, (*CAI*, p. 68) and R. D. Banerji, (*Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXIII, p. 249) have recognised the domed building as a temple and S.V. Sohoni has pointed out that such hill temples are common in the Kulu and Beas valleys and that the presence of the trident-battle-axe shows that it was a Śaivite temple: *JNSI*, IV, pp. 55 ff.
19. Allan has taken the Kharoṣṭhī side as obverse and the Brāhmī side as reverse. But since the biscriputual coins of the tribal states seem to be influenced by the bilingual coins of the Indo-Greeks who used Greek on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse, the tribal states also appear to have used Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse, replacing Greek by Brāhmī on the obverse. We shall henceforth refer to the Brāhmī side as the obverse and the Kharoṣṭhī side as the reverse of the tribal coins.
20. R. D. Banerji, *Numismatic Supplement* (*NS*), No. XXIII, p. 249 and *BMC, AI*, p lxxxiv.
21. *Ibid*, p. 125, Pl XIV. 15 (Dharaghosha); p. 122, Pl. XV. 4 (Rudradāsa), and p. 122, Pl. XV. 1 (Śivadāsa).
22. Cf. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxiii. Other scholars support this attribution. For our suggestion see *JNSI*, XXX, p. 64. Ajay Mitra Shastri also expresses a similar view in *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 158-159.

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23. *BMC, AI*, p. 124, Pl. XIV. 14.
24. *Ibid*, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16-17.
25. Cunningham identifies the tree with the *Udumbara* or fig-tree (*CAI*, p. 68), the totemistic emblem of the Audumbaras (*ibid*, p. 66).
26. *BMC, AI*, p. 125, Pl. XV. 13.
27. *Ibid*, p. 128. Pl. XLIII. 2.
28. *Ibid*, p. 287, No. 30a.
29. *Ibid*, p. 126, Pl. XV. 17-18.
30. *CAI*, pp. 69-70.
30a. [For the socalled Audumbara Mitras see *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 130-31, *JPS*.]
31. *BMC, AI*, p. 127, Pl. XV. 21. Cf. the second symbol with the third one as seen on the coins of Bhānumitra of Pañchāla: *ibid*, p. 195, Pl. XXVII. 16.
32. Besides, the reverse of Audumbara Bhānumitra's coins shows elephant to left and bears Kharoshṭhī legend, while that of Pañchāla Bhānumitra depicts the solar symbol in allusion to his name and does not bear any Kharoshṭhī legend.
33. *BMC, AI*, p. 126, Pl. XV. 16.
34. *Ancient Geography of India* (*AGI*), pp. 162-163.
35. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 529; see also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*JRAS*), 1900, pp. 538-539.
36. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 171 and 213; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 787, 793 and 820, Nos. 252-257.
37. *BMC, AI*, p. 158, Pl. XVI. 4.
38. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 820, No. 256 (? Ārya), No. 255 (? Satyamitra), Nos. 252-253, 257 (Vijayamitra), and No. 254 (Vīrayaśas). The legends are read by Allan.
39. *CAI*, p. 66. It was found along with some Audumbara and Kuṇinda coins.
40. *BMC, AI*, p. c; also A. N. Lahiri, "Metrology of the Indo-Greek Silver Coins", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, p. 61.
41. *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 841.
42. For the date of the silver coin see *BMC, AI*, p. c, and for the copper coins see *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 787.
43. *BMC, AI*, p. ciii; also *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 36f.
44. *BMC, AI*, p. ciii.
45. *Ibid*, p. 159, Pl. XXII. 1.
46. *Ibid*, p. 162, Pl. XXIII. 1.
47. *Ibid*, p. 163, Pl. XXII. 10.

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48. *Ibid*, pp. cii and 288, Pl. XL. 14.
49. *Ibid*, pp. ciii and 167, Pl. XXIII. 12.
50. Allan reads *Bhāgavata* for *Bhagavataḥ*. For the correct reading see *Age of Imperial Unity* (*AIU*), p. 161, note 1.
51. *BMC, AI*, p. cxxiii.
52. *Ibid*, p. 210, Pl. XXIX. 15.
53. *Ibid*, p. 211, Pl. XXIX. 13.
54. *Ibid*, p. 212, Pl. XXIX. 11-12.
55. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports* (*C, ASR*), Vol, V, p. 148; also *AGI*, p. 156.
56. *BMC, AI*, p. 212, Pl. XXIX. 10.
57. This is suggested by the provenance of their coins which were found along with Audumbara coins: *CAI*, p. 68.
58. *BMC, AI*, p. 280, Pl. XLV. 14.
59. *Ibid*, pp. lxxxv and 125, Pl. XIV. 13. D. C Sircar reads *vijayata* or *vijayato* in place of both *vijayaka* (obverse) and *vijayaya* (reverse) : *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 7. But Allan's reading seems to be the correct one.
60. For Apollodotus I's coins see A. N Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Pl. VII. 1-2.
61. *BMC, AI*, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16 (Bull r.) and Pl. XIV. 17 (Bull l.).
62. For our view regarding the attribution of the Mahādeva coins to the Vemakis see *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 63 ff.
63. *BMC, AI*, p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5. The reading adopted by Allan (*ibid*, pp. clvi-clvii) was suggested by Bergney (*JRAS*, 1900, pp. 420-421). S. K. Chakrabortty, has, however, put it as *Vṛishṇirāja-Jñāgaṇasya*....., taking Jñāgaṇa as the proper name of the Vṛishṇi chief (*NS*, XLVI, p. N. 87), accepting Cunningham's reading (*CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 15).

63a. [The settlement of the Vṛishṇis in Punjab is also supported by the discovery of their sealings from that area; cf *JNSI*, XXXV, II, pp. 95ff. Literature also supports their location in Punjab, cf. *JNSI*, XXXIV, II, p. 203. *JPS*].

64. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd. Edn., p. 271.
65. *BMC, AI*, pp. 265-266, Nos. 1-15. For the coin with the legend *Mahārājasa*, see *ibid*, p. 266, Pl. XXXIX. 10. [It has been suggested that the coins of this class are typologically connected with the local coins of Kauśāmbī. It has also been held on this basis that these coins travelled to Behat from where they are found in association with other Yaudheya

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coins (cf. *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 90-91). But the coins of this group or class—both the uninscribed and inscribed, cannot be separated from each other as they are typologically very closely connected. Taken together, they show the development of their typology. As such they form a separate group. They cannot be attributed to Kauśāmbī as the arrangement of their symbols is not met with on the published coins of Kauśāmbī, and the occurrence of individual symbols in a different group context cannot be taken to show that they originated in Kauśāmbī or any other place. Hence, in all likelihood, these coins originated in the region round Behat, and were struck by some local king of the region, who may have subsequently been supplanted by the Yaudheyas. *JPS*]

66. *Ibid*, pp. 267-270, Nos. 16-46.
67. The legend was formerly read differently by different scholars. The discovery of Yaudheya coin moulds from Rohtak enabled Jayaswal to give the correct reading: *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXII, pp. 59 ff.
68. See *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 101-103, and Vol. XXVII, p. 86.
69. *BMC, AI*, p. 275, Pl. XLIV. 27.
70. *Ibid*, pp. cxlix and 270, Pl. XXXIX. 21. The reading has been slightly emended *(Bhagavataḥ* in place of *Bhāgavata)* by J. N. Banerjea : *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 160 ff.
71. *BMC, AI*, pp. cxlix and 270 ff., Nos. 48-79. The reading of the legend on the copper coins has likewise been corrected by J. N. Banerjea. [The coins bearing the legend are now attributed to the Kumāras, hitherto an unknown tribe of ancient India, cf. the paper of N. Ahmad below. *JPS.]*
72. *Ibid*, p. 275, Pl. XL. 15. [Coins of this class have also been published by S. C. Kala (*JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-48, wherein he reads the legend as *Bhānuvasya.* This shows that the name of the king who issued these coins was Bhānuva and not Bhānuvarmā as supposed by Allan. *JPS.*]
73. *Ibid*, pp. cl and 276 ff., Nos. 82-105.
74. *Ibid*, p. 276, Pl. XL. 1.
75. *Ibid*, p. 277, Pl. XL. 5 *(dvi)* and *ibid*, p. 278, Pl. XL. 7 *(tri)*. [There is probably another class of Yaudheya coins too. These are the coins bearing *Rāvaṇasya* (cf. Kala, *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-48). Subsequent writers have also attributed them to the Yaudheyas, cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 135; and K.K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. 210-11. *JPS.*]

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76. Cf. *Ibid*, pp. clii-cliii.
77. Cf. *Ibid*, p. lxxxiii.
77a. [A third coin type of the tribe is published in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, I, 1ff; and a 4th type formed the subject matter of paper read by D. Handa, at the 64th annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, at Ludhiana. *JPS*].
78. *Ibid*, p. 121, Pl. XIV. 10.
79. *Ibid*, p. 121. Pl. XIV. 11.
80. Cf. *AIU*, p. 163.
81. Most of the Mālava coins were found by Carlleyle at Nagar in Jaipur (*C.ASR*, VI, pp. 162 ff.). Rairh in Jaipur has also yielded some Mālava coins and a seal with the legend *Mālava-janapadasa* : *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 49 and 54.
82. For different suggestions about the significance of these short legends see Carlleyle, *C.ASR*, VI, p. 172; Smith, *IMC*, p. 163; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity (HP)*, Pt. I, p. 218; A. C. Banerji, *Annalas of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XIII, p. 224; Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. cvi-cvii; D. C. Sircar, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 4, and XXVII, pp. 204-205; and K. K. Das Gupta, *Proc.* of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad 1965, pp. 56-57.
83. Cf. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 643.
84. *IMC*, p. 163.
85. *Ibid*, pp. 170 ff.
86. Cf. *NS*, XXXVII, pp. N 45 ff.; and *ibid*, XLVI, pp. N. 97-80.
87. *IMC*, p. 175, N. 70.
88. *Ibid*, pp. 174 ff., Nos. 68-103.
89. Jayswal thought that the coins of Class II succeeded those of Class I (*HP*, Pt. I, p. 218); D.C. Sircar also expressed a similar view (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 4). But according to other scholars like S. K. Chakrabortty (*NS*, XLVI, p. 81) and Allan (*BMC, AI*, p. cvi), the two classes were contemporary issues. [The two classes of Mālava coins cannot be treated as contemporary issues. The nature of their legends is such that they could only have been struck one after the other. *JPS*.]
90. Different scholars assign different dates to the Mālava coins. We have accepted D. C. Sircar's initial dating as the first century B. C. (*AIU*, p. 165) and the latest limit as given by Smith (*IMC*, p. 162).
91. *C. ASR*, VI, p. 200; and *Memoirs of the Arch. Sury. Ind.*, No. 4, p. 122.
92. Cf. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, VII, pp. 266-267; also *Jour. Ori. Inst*, X, p. 181.

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93. *JNSI*, IX, p. 82, Pl. V. 1-3.
94. *BMC, AI*, p. 213, Pl. XLIV. 6-7. The coin, Pl. XXIX. 14, assigned to the Ārjunāyanas, is actually a Śibi coin.
95. *JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. V. 6.
96. Cf. *AIU*, p. 159, note 3.
97. *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 51 ff.
98. *BMC, AI*, p. 240, Pl XXXV. 16.
99. *Ibid*, Pl. XXXV. 17.
100. *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IVA. 2.
101. *Ibid*, p. 48, Pl. IV-A.3.
101a. [The coins of the Nāgas perhaps cannot be regarded as tribal coins. Firstly because they are not struck in the name of the tribe Nāga and are totally different from the coins of the definitely known Indian tribes. Secondly because some of the Nāga kings appear to have been defeated by Samudragupta and their reference in the Allahabad pillar inscription of the king is such that they seem to have followed a monarchical constitution. Their coins also support their monarchical system. The list of the monarchies defeated by Samudragupta stands in contrast to the frontier peoples mentioned in the same inscription who were definitely tribal republics. Therefore, the coins of the Nāgas cannot be treated as tribal coins. These coins are in fact comparable only with the coins of the Maghas in this regard. Both are coins of a local character and should be discussed as such-*JPS*].
102. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53 and note 2 (Text).
103. *Ibid*, pp. 49 (Text) and 72 (Translation).
104. H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati* (*CCNKP*), pp. xxxiii ff.
105. *CCNKP*, pp. 29-30, Pl III. 11-14 (Bhavanāga); *ibid*, pp. 14-16 Pl. II. 12-18 (Bṛihaspatināga); Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India* (*CMI*), p. 24, Pl. II. 23 (Devanāga); *CCNKP*, pp. 49-50, Pl. IV. 29-31 (Gaṇapatināga); *ibid*, pp. 38-39, Pl. IV. 1-3 (Prabhākara); *ibid*, p. 26, Pl. III. 1-3 (Ravināga), *ibid*, pp. 9-10, Pl. I. 28-31 (Skandanāga); *ibid*, pp. 21-23, Pl, II. 27-35 (Vibhunāga); and *ibid*, p. 1, Pl. I. 1-2 (Vṛishabha).
106. A Bull-type coin published by the present author in *JNSI*, XVI, Pt. II, p. 52 may, however, belong to Bhīmanāga.
107. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 79, Pl. V. 17 (Bṛihaspatināga); *CCNKP*, pp. 43-47, Pl. IV. 15-25 (Devanāga); *Jaur. Asiatic Soc. Beng*, 1865, p. 123 (Gaṇendra); *ibid*, p. 123, Fig. 12 (Vasunāga); *JNSI*, XVII, Pt. II, p. 49, Pl. VII.7 (Vibhunāga); and *CMI*, p. 24, Pl. II. 22 (Vyāghranāga).

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108. *CCNKP*, pp. 2-4, Pl. I. 3-13 (Bhīmanāga); *Padmāvatī*, p. 27, Type 3c (Bṛihaspatināga); *CCNKP*, pp. 6-9, Pl.I.14-27 (Skandanāga); and *Ibid*, 11-13, Pl.II.1-11 (Vasunāga).
109. *Ibid*, pp. 35-36, Pl. III. 31-34 (Bhavanāga); *ibid*, pp. 18-19, Pl.II.24-26 (Bṛihaspatināga); and *ibid*, pp. 47-48, Pl. IV. 26-28 (Devanāga).
110. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 77-78, Pl. V. 11-15 (Coins attributed to Prabhunāga may actually belong to Prabhākara); *ibid*, pp. 77, Pl. V. 9-10 (Ravināga); and *CCNKP*, pp. 21-23, Pl. II. 27-35 (Vibhunāga).
111. *JNSI*, XXXI, p. 72, Pl. III. 5-6.
112. *Ibid*, XIV, p. 79, Pl. V. 16 (Skandanāga); and *Ibid*, XV, p. 133, Pl. VIII. 9 (Gaṇapati).
113. *CCNKP*, pp. 36-37, Pl. III. 35-38 (Bhavanāga); and *ibid*, p. 25, Pl. II. 40 (Vibhunāga).
114. *Ibid*, p. 24, Pl. II. 36-39.
115. *JNSI*, XV, p. 134, Pl. VIII. 12-13.
116. *Ibid*, X, p. 42, No. 15.
117. *Padmāvatī*, p. 27, Type 5c.
118. He bears the titles *Mahārāja*, *Adhirāja*, *Śrī*, *Mahārājaśrī*, and *Adhirājaśrī* : cf. *JNSI*, V, pp. 21ff., and *CCNKP*, pp. 27 ff.
119. They are of the post-Kushāṇa and pre-Gupta period.

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IV

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRIBAL COINS

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

I

First of all it is necessary that we should be clear in our minds about the term 'Tribal Coins'. The 'Tribal Coins', so far as I could ascertain, was used first in the context of the ancient Indian coins by J. Allan in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum.* There, he has used it for those ancient coins 'which have been attributed to particular dynasties or districts on the authority of their inscriptions, types or provenance'[1]; or 'which can be more or less definitely attributed from legends or otherwise.'[2] To be explicit, Allan described under the term Tribal Coins', all the coins of the post-Mauryan period that covered the period between 200 B. C and 400 A. D.; and which were earlier described by Cunningham and Chakrabortty[3] without any nomenclature. K. D. Bajpai, participating in the Seminar organised by the Banaras Hindu University in 1966 on the Local Coins of Northern India, understood the term in the same sense and advocated to replace it by the Indian term *janapada.*[4] At the same Seminar, Jai Prakash covered this entire series of coins under a different term 'Local Coins.' To him, this latter term "is taken to denote that Series of the coins, which is generally found from Taxila, Eran, Ujjain, Mathura, Kanauj, Kausambi, Pañchāla and Ayodhya together with the coinage of the Audumbara, Yaudheyas and such other tribes." He amplified this by saying that the former class represents monarchical and the latter the non-monarchical coinage; chronologically both of them belong almost to the same period and betray a uniform mode of manufacture and have many other similarities. So, they together constitute

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an independent group or class of ancient Indian coinage; the entire series should be designated as 'Regional' or as 'Local Coinage',[5] he opined.

But there are other scholars, who do not take the two terms 'Tribal Coins' and 'Local Coins' to be synonymous i.e. to mean one and the same long series of ancient Indian coins. V. Smith understood them to present two different groups of the ancient Indian coinage. To him, 'Local coins, meant only those coins that were issued from Ayodhya, Avanti, Kosam, Taxila; and the 'Tribal coins meant the coins of Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Nāgas, Rājanyas and Yaudheyas.[6] Later, at the Seminar, referred to above, Nisar Ahmad upheld this view. He advocated the use of the term 'Local coins' for the coins issued from the monarchic head-quarters and the term 'Tribal Coins' for the currency bearing the tribal names.[7] Bela Lahiri, in her paper, presented to the said Seminar, also took the term 'Local coins' in the same sense as suggested by Smith and Nisar Ahmad i. e. the coins bearing the names of the cities and of the rulers of various local dynasties. She excluded the coins bearing the names of the tribes from the perview of her paper.[8]

Thus we have two sets of views about the use of the term 'Tribal coins' in the realm of Indian numismatics; and this is most perplexing. What the organizers of this Seminar mean by this term, is not clear to us. So, in the absence of any indication from them, I have accepted this term in the limited sense of the coins issued by the Tribal Republics, which I feel is its proper definition.

II

The Tribal coins that are known to us, disclose 12 names for the tribes Agreya[9], Ārjunāyana,[10] Audumbara,[11] Kulūta,[12] Kuṇinda,[13] Mālava,[14] Rājanya,[15] Śibi,[16] Trigarta[17], Vṛishṇi[18], Vemaka[19] and Yaudheya.[20] In the

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opinion of some scholars, there might be some other coins, which should be classed as 'Tribal coins', but there is not enough evidence before me to accept them as such. Hence they are not discussed here.

These coins disclose in their legends, the name of the issuing tribes and their political or administrative set-up; and at times, they also mention their locality. As such apparently, there is not much on the coins themselves, to throw enough light on their geography. It is only their finds and find-spots, that are of some help to us in this matter. But unfortunately, in many cases, the finds have only a few coins, at times only one or two in number. Then we do not know any thing about their find-places in many cases. For the present, our main source of information about the tribes are their coins that are in the collection of the British Museum and have been systematically studied by J. Allan. Most of the coins of this collection came from Cunningham; so, Allan has relied on him for their finds and find-spots; but at times Cunningham too, is vague or silent about the sources of his coins. From other sources, we add very little to our knowledge. However, a number of tribes are known from literature and their approximate locations in some cases are also mentioned. Informations from these sources help in locating these tribes geographically; but they too, can only be used to supplement or complement our numismatic knowledge; and they cannot be used without some caution. As such, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot be precise in our geographical studies of the tribal coins.

The palaeography of the legends is the only source to date the tribes. This source reveals that none of the coins issued by these tribes are earlier than the second century B. C. and not all the tribes issued their coins in one and the same period. They may be distinguished in terms of the dates as follows :—

1. *Circa* 2nd century B.C. Agreya, Rājanya, Śibi, Trigarta, Yaudheya.

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2.	*Circa* 1st Century B. C.	Audumbara, Kuṇinda, Vṛishṇi.
3.	*Circa* 1st Century A. D.	Kulūta.
4.	*Circa* 2nd Century A.D.	Kuṇinda, Yaudheya.
5.	*Circa* 2nd—4th Cent. A.D.	Ārjunāyana, Mālava, Yaudheya.

Another fact, which is significant for the purpose of our study, that has not yet properly attracted the attention of scholars is that the coins issued by different tribes in one and the same period, have an uniform pattern for their legends. And as we shall see below, this has some importance in the context of their geographical study.

III

The Tribal coins, attributable to the second century B. C. have the legends as follows :—

1.	Agreya	*Agodaka Agācha janapadasa*[21]
2.	Rājanya	*Rājanya janapadasa*[22]
3.	Trigarta	*Trakata janapadasa*[23]
4.	Sibi	(a) *Sibi janapadasa.*[24]
		(b) *Majhamikāya Sibi janapadasa*[25]
5.	Yaudheya	*Yaudheyānam Bahudhāñyake*[26]

Here we find that all these tribes, excluding Yaudheya, have on their coins a similar legend and have a common term *janapada* along with the tribal name. This term is also used on a type of coins of the Vemaka tribe,[27] which are palaeographically a little later and datable in the first century B. C. The term *janapada* is also found associated with the name of the Mālava tribe on a sealing found in the excavations at Rairh, which is palaeographically dated to *circa* second century B. C.[28] As such they also may be grouped together with the above tribes for the stylistic semblence of their coin-legends. Another significant fact is that this term *janapada* is conspicuously absent on the coins of the subsequent periods and on the coins of the tribes not mentioned here.

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The derivative meaning of the term *janapada* points out to the early stage of land taking by the *jana* (people; tribe) for a settled way of life. But it appears from the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (dated in the middle of the fifth century B.C. by V.S. Agrawala[29]) that the process of the first settlement on land had completed its final stage long before the time of Pāṇini and by his time the land was known by the name of the people; and in majority of the ancient *janapadas*, the political power was concentrated in their original settlers. As such Land and People both were known politically as *janapada*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has amplified this term by saying in one of its passages that it was opposed to the *Rājan* i.e. monarchical form of government. This meant that the tribes called *janapada*, maintained some kind of democracy; or in other words, they were, quite likely, some type of republics. This brings to my mind that the tribes called *janapadas* on the coins, might have settled at some time, quite close to each other in one geographic unity.

Of the *janapadas*, mentioned above, the coins of Trigarta, Rājanya and Vemaka and the seal of Mālavas only name the *janapada*, while the coins of Agreya add the name of a locality alongwith the tribal name. The coins of the Śibi people have both types of the legend i. e. they have it with and without the name of locality. These apparently seem to suggest that those which do not bear the name of the locality had, in all probablity, one and the same name both for the people and the land; in other words, the coins might have been issued by these tribes when they were close to their original settlements. Those who mention the locality most likely, meant that they had originally settled some where else and now had migrated to a new land. With these presumptions, I would now examine these tribes.

1. Trigarta. Trigarta is known only from a solitary coin, which originally belonged to J. C. Rawlins. He had collected his coins from the Punjab (of pre-partition days);

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but the actual find-spot of the coin is not known. The derivative meaning of Trigarta is 'three pits'; hence it is believed that it denoted, most likely, the region comprising the three valleys, those of the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions Trigarta amongst the mountainous *sanghas*.[30] According to the *Vaijayanti* and *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*' Trigarta corresponded to Jullandhar *(Jalandharastrigartaḥ syuḥ)*. In a very late inscription of Chamba, Trigarta is mentioned along with the king of Kulūta, as the friend and presumably a neighbour of Sāhilla, founder of the Chamba-line. All these show that Trigarta existed in all the times in the mountainous region between Kangra and Jullundhar and it may be located in the land between Ravi and Sutlej and in all probablity, it corresponded to the present day district of Jullundhar.

2. **Rājanya.** Cunningham published a coin of this tribe in his book *Coins of Ancient India*[31] and illustrated it on Plate VIII of the book. He did not mention its provenance; but said that many of the coins included in the said plate, were brought for sale from the surrounding country of Mathura. This might lead to infer that the Rājanya people lived in the vicinity of Mathura. And actually Smith, while publishing the seven coins in the Indian Museum of unknown provenance, felt a close relationship between the coins of the Rājanya and the Satraps of Mathura and went a step further in locating the Rājanya territory in the Dholpur district in Eastern Rajasthan.[32] He was so much influenced by Cunningham that he failed to realise that the coins of the Rājanya and of the Satraps of Mathura were centuries apart and that the coins of Rājanya are known with legends in Kharoshṭhī and Brahmī both; coins with the Kharoshṭhī legends could never have originated in this part of the country. This fact alone would place them some where in the Punjab. He also ignored the information of Rawlins that the coins of this type were found in the Manaswal plateau of Hoshiarpur district.[33] Most of the coins in the

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British Museum, came through Rawlins from Hoshiarpur district; so, Allan has located the Rājanya country there.[34]

3. Vemaka. A copper coin of Vemaka, in the British Museum, is described by Allan as probably coming from Hoshiarpur district.[35] Another type of coin in silver related to this tribe, discussed below, is known definitely to have been found in a field near Jwālāmukhī (district Kangra) along with three silver pieces of the Kuṇindas and 28 coins of Apollodotus.[36] In the *Mahābhārata*, a people called Vaiyāmaka are mentioned along with that of Trigarta.[37] All these indicate that Vemakas were close to Trigarta in Hoshiarpur and or Kangra district.

4. Mālava. No coin of Mālavas of this period and with the *janapada* legend is known.[38] But a seal of this period with the term *janapada* was found at Rairh, near Jaipur in Rajasthan,[39] wherefrom their coins of later periods are well known. These place the Mālava people in Rajasthan. But the Mālava once lived in the Punjab, is attested from other sources. A large tract of the Punjab, comprising the districts of Firozpur, Ludhiana and Patiala (erstwhile native states of Jhind, Patiala and Malerakotla) is known as Malawa;[40] and the spoken language of the Firozpur-Bhatinda region is known as Malawai.[41] These suggest that Mālava people were there at one time. Then we also know from the Greek accounts that the Mālava (Malloi) had opposed Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. According to Arrian, Alexander had ordered his generals to wait for him at the confluence of the Akesines (Chenab) and Hydraotes (Ravi). From there, he led them through a waterless country against the Mālava (Malloi). He further informs that Akesines (Chenab) joined the Indus in the dominions of the Mālava (Malloi). These show that the Mālava lived in Alexander's time in the Doab formed by Sutlej and Ravi and the narrow land between Indus and Chenab in the south west Pakistan. Thus it appears that Mālava had settled first in or about the Ravi-Sutlej Doab, to the south of Ravi-

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Jhelum confluence. Later, they had moved to north in the Sutlej-Beas Doab and thus they lived in the neighbourhood of the Rājanya-Trigarta-Vemaka.

5. Sibi. Like the Mālava, the coins of the Śibi people are found exclusively in Rajasthan at Nagarī, near Chitor (Udaipur).[42] The coins found there, as mentioned earlier, are of two types--one of them bears the locality name Majhamikā (Mādhyamikā). This tends to indicate that Śibi people lived at that place. Since these coins have been found at Nagarī, that place is said to be the ancient Majjhimikā (Mādhyamikā). Find-spots of the coins may be accepted as a good ground for such an identification; but some corroborative evidence is necessary to accept it as final. In this case, we have no such corroborative evidence; on the other hand, there are reasons to believe that a Mādhyamikā existed in the Punjab.

A passage in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya-Aruṇad yavanaḥ Sāketam* : *aruṇad yavano Mādhyamikām*, suggests that some Greek king had besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā. On the basis of Śibi coins, our scholars have accepted this besieged Madhyamikā to be the same as Nagari. They did not care to go into depth and realise that whosoever might have been the Greek invader, he would have been only amongst the earliest ones; and he would have started in his expedition only from somewhere in the northern Pakistan. And he would not have been so fool or so ignorant of logistics as not to take a direct and easy route to the east via the riverine plains of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh to reach Sāketa and to follow the most circuitous and hazardous path[43] to go first a long way to the south into the inaccessible deserts to besiege Madhyamikā and thence to move eastward, facing stiffer difficulties before going north to reach the Gangetic plains, where Saketa was situated. In fact, the Greek invader had not to go in the deserts. That Madhyamikā was situated in the riverine plains of Punjab, would be clear to those, who would take pains to look into Nakula's expedition to

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the west, described in the *Mahābhārata.*[44] Even now, Amritsar-Tarantaran belt is known as Manjha i.e. Madhyamikā.

Śibis lived in Punjab, is well attested from the Greek accounts of Alexander's compaign. Alexander had an encounter with them between Indus and Chenab,[45] and they were close to Mālavas. The *Mahābhārata* puts them with the Trigartas and the Mālavas.[46] This makes it clear that the Śibis lived orignally in Punjab and were the neighbours of the Mālavas and the Trigartas. They lived first somewhere between the Indus and Chenab and then between Beas and Ravi; and it is from this latter place that they moved to Rajasthan. Their coins found from this place are reminiscent of this land, where they lived prior to their migration to Rajasthan.

6. Agreya : Agreya coins are of the type, which bears the name of the locality as Agrodaka. Agrodaka may most conviniently be identified with Agroha in the Hisar district on the analogy of Pṛithudaka and Pehoa. And the coins of the Agreya have actually been found at Agroha in large number and also at Barwala only a few miles east to it. So, without any discussions, it may be said that Agreya lived at this place, when the coins were issued. This was, in all probability, not their original home. We do not possess much information about them; but Greek accounts of Alexander's campaign refer to a tribe, whom the Greek writers have variously named as Agalassi, Agesinae, Acensoni, Argesinae. Barnett has identified this tribe with *Agacha* (Agreya) *janapada.*[47] According to Diodorus, this tribe was the neighbour of the Śibi.[48] As such, we may conclude that Agreya, before coming to the Agroha region, lived in the vicinity of the Śibi.

7. Yaudheya : The Yaudheya differ from other tribes of our list in not having the term *janapada* on their coins. This might suggest that they were different in some way in their political set-up from the other tribes. But then their coins have another common feature with the coins of the

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Śibi and Agreya. They bear the name of the locality; and this feature places the Yaudheya close to them. The Yaudheya coins bear *Bahudhānyaka* as the locality name; and this name may be conveniently equated with the region of Haryana; the two are almost synonymous. Then the moulds of the coins of this type, have been found in this region at Khokrakot[49] and Naurangabad, both near Rohtak. Thus the Yaudheya may be located in the vicinity of Rohtak in Haryana.

These discussions bear out the fact that the tribes that existed during the time of Alexander's invasion in the tract east of Jhelum, moved to the east of the river Beas into the region which was bounded by the rivers Beas and Sutlej in the west and Jamuna in the east. Their south boundary may be demarcated by an imaginary line running from Firozpore (or Faridkot) to Rohtak (or Delhi). Within this boundary lived the above seven tribes contiguous to each other in *circa* second century B. C. The Vemaka were in the extreme north in the district of Kangra; to their south were the Rājanya in the district of Hoshiarpur; and below them were the Trigarta in the district of Jullundhar. To their south was the larger tribe Mālava, covering the districts of Firozpore, Ludhiana and Patiala. Some time during this period, the Mālava migrated to Rajasthan. Along with them also moved the Śibi, who bordered here with the Mālava in the west. To the south of the Mālava were the Yaudheya and the Agreya in the Rohtak region. In course of time, these tribes for some reason or the other were geographically separated into several pockets. The Vemaka, Rājanya and Trigarta formed one pocket in their original land between the rivers Sutlej and Beas; but soon these tribes seem to have disappeared. They are not known in any subsequent period. The Agreya and Yaudheya formed another unit in and around the district of Rohtak. Of these Agreya are not known in the later periods; Yaudheyas moved into Rajasthan. There the Mālava, Śibi and Yaudheya covered a long strip of land from Bharatpur in

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the north-east to Udaipur in the south-west. The Yaudheya occupied Bharatpur, Mālava Jaipur and Śibi Udaipur regions.

IV

On paleographic basis, the coins of the tribes named Vemaka, Audumbara and Kuṇinda are placed in *circa* first century B. C. and of Kulūta in *circa* first century A. D. The coins of all these tribes have an uniform pattern for their legends, so all of them may be placed together. The legends are :

1.	Vemaka	*Raña Vamkisa Rudravarmasa vijayaya*[50]
2.	Audumbara	*Raña Sivadasasa Odumbarisa mahadevasa*[51]
		Raña Rudradasasa Odumbarisa mahadevasa
		Raña Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa mahadevasa
3.	Kuṇinda	*Raña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhutisa Maharajasa*[52]
4.	Kulūta	*Raña Kūlutasya Vīrayaśasya.*[53]

Here is no term like *janapada* to indicate the political or administrative set-up of the tribes. Instead the tribal name is associated with personal names, which are prefixed with the title *Rājā*. This suggests that these tribes had either a monarchical system or their head was known as *rājā*. In the case of the first three tribes, another epithet is added to the personal name. This second epithet, differs on the coins of each of the tribes; and so, naturally, they have been so far interpreted in isolation and various interpretations have been put forward for them. Here is no occassion to discuss them. But it may be pointed out that the uniform pattern of the legend indicates that inspite of the difference in the epithets, their significance in the context of the entire legend would be of an uniform nature. The uniformity in the pattern of the legend indicates that these tribes had a common type

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of administration and most probably they also lived in the neighbourhood of each other.

The only silver coin of the Vemaka, is known to have been found definitely at Jwālāmukhī along with the coins of the Kuṇinda.[54] This find of the coins of the two tribes, together in a hoard, amply demonstrates that they were close to each other in time and space. Again 74 coins of Kuṇinda were found along with the silver coins of Apollodotus at Tappa Mewa in Hamirpur district, which is close to Kangra district, a little to the east.[55] An Audumbara silver coin was obtained by Cunningham in the Pathankot district and his seven copper coins of the same tribe in Pathankot itself.[56] A hoard of the Audumbara coins was found at Irippal in Gurudaspur district.[57] British Museum coins of Rawlins' collection were collected from Hoshiarpur district.[58] Thus Audumbara may be located in the western part of the Kangra district, Gurudaspur district and Hamirpur district. In other words they were on the west side of the Vemaka. The Kulūta coin was published by Cunningham along with the coins of Audumbara without the mention of the find spot.[59] It seems that it was found in the same area as the coins of the latter. Rapson has identified Kulūta with Kulu valley.[60] This means that the Kulūta were on the north side of the Audumbara. Thus these tribes lived in a compact hilly region watered by the rivers Ravi on the west and Sutlej in the east.

V

A silver coin bearing the legend *Vṛishṇi-Rājanya-gaṇasya tratarasya* is attributed to *circa* first century B. C.[61]; thus it requires that it should be discussed with the coins of the above tribes. But it is the legend that isolates it from them. The only thing in this legend is that it has a word *tratara,* which is the Indianised form of the Greek epithet *Soteros;* it may be compared to *vijayaya* on the coins of Vemaka which means Victorious. The word *gaṇa* of this legend is found used in the legends of the Mālava and Yaudheya coins of

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circa 2nd-4th century A. D. So, it is difficult to place this coin in a proper chronology on the basis of the legend.

This coin has another peculiarity in naming the tribe as Vṛishṇi-Rājanya-gaṇa. The term *gaṇa* has been discussed by Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity;* he has suggested that it was the same as modern democracy.[62] But the term *janapada,* is used in the same sense on a set of coins of the earlier period, that we have already discussed above, and *gaṇa* on this coin, when looked together, suggest that the two terms meant two different forms of democracy. So, some time back I suggested that *gaṇa* meant some sort of Federation; and here it showed that two tribes Vṛishṇi and Rājanya had federated together.[63] But now I feel that *Rājanya* on the coin is not used as the name of any tribe, though we know a tribe of this name. Here it is a technical term, which is associated with *gaṇa.* Vṛishṇi is a *Rājanya-gaṇa.* It denotes the administrative set-up of the Vṛishṇi people.

To appreciate its meaning, attention is drawn to the phrase *Vesāli-nagara gaṇa-rāja-kulānām abhisheka-mangala-pokkharaṇi* used in a Jātaka in the context of the Lichchhavi people.[64] It shows that the political *sangha* of Vaishali, called *gaṇa* was composed of various *Rāja-kulas* (royal families) which were known as *abhisheka-rājakula ;* and the heads of these royal families constituted the governing body of that *gaṇa.* Similar custom prevailed amongst the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi people; this appears from a *sūtra* of Paṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī.*[65] It reveals that not all the people of this *gaṇa* exercised political power; it was only the previlege of the *Rājanya.*[65a] The *Kāśikā* defines *Rājanya* as *abhishikta vaṃśya kshatriya* i. e. the families consecreted to rulership. And *Rājanya* amongst the Vṛishṇi were the descendents of Svaphalaka, Chaitraka, Sini and Vāsudeva.[66] If the legend of the coin is taken in this light it would be evident that it was issued by the *Rājanya* of the Vṛishṇi *gaṇa.* This tends to suggest that the Vṛishṇis, even in the first century B. C. had the same form of government that was known to Pāṇini for them; and thus it was different from the other contemporary tribes.

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The Vṛishṇi people are known to the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* as the inhabitants of Mathura. After Jarāsandhas' conquest of Mathura, the Vṛishṇis migrated to Dvaraka. But the solitary coin of the tribe, known so far, neither hails from Mathura nor from Dwarka. It means that the Vṛishṇi people lived during this period somewhere else than these two places. The coin was published by Cunningham without any comment along with the coins of Audumbara; this suggests their place somewhere in the Punjab. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[67] and the *Mahābhārata*[68] inform that after the calamity that befell on the Vṛishṇis at Dvaraka, Arjuna settled their survivors in the region of Indraprastha. The *Vishṇū Purāṇa*[69] more explicitly says that the Vṛishṇis were settled in the *pancha-nada* (i. e. Punjab) in the *Bahudhānyaka* region. We have already noticed earlier that *Bahudhānyaka* the present Haryana, adjoining Delhi or Indraprastha. This finds support from some Vṛishṇi sealings, discovered in this area,[70] which are very much similar to the Yaudheya sealings known from the same region.[71] The sealings indicate that the Vṛishṇis occupied the Yaudheya territory, when the latter moved to Rajasthan; or if the Yaudheya lived there, the Vṛishṇi were their neighbour. And it would be reasonable to surmise that the coin was issued here.

VI

We do not have any coin in the first century A. D. to know the tribal movements. But from a fragmentary inscription of some unknown *Mahārāja, mahāsenāpati* of the Yaudheya, found at Bijayagarh (Bharatpur)[72], we know that the Yaudheya were there during this period. They were here overthrown by the Śaka Mahākshatrapa Nahapāṇa some time earlier than 150 A. D.[73]

In the second century A. D., we know two tribes Yaudheya and Kuṇinda issuing their coins. These coins bear a quite different legend than that they had issued more than a century earlier. The new legends are :

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Yaudheya (a) *Yaudheya Bhagavata svamino Brahmaṇyasya*
(b) *Bhagavata svamino Brahmaṇya-devasya Kumārasya*[74]

Kuninda *Bhagavata chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ*[75]

Here only in legend (a) which is seen on a rare type of silver coins, the name of the tribe Yaudheya is found. The other legend of this tribe and the one of the Kuṇinda have no tribal name, it is only on the basis of the type of the silver coin and the similarity of its legend that the coins with the legend (b) are attributed to the Yaudheya. Similarly, the coins having remaining aforesaid legend are attributed to the Kuṇindas on the basis of its affinity with the earlier coins of the tribe.

The peculiarity of these legends lies in the fact that they bear the names of the gods, which were most likely the tutelary deities of the tribes. Thus these legends suggest some kind of theocratic government for their issuing tribes.

The coin of the Kuṇinda of this type are described by Prinsep from Behat near Saharanpur.[76] According to Cunningham, Kuṇinda coins are found between Ambala and Saharanpur.[77] A large number of coins are known from Srinagar (Garhwal) and its vicinity.[78] These show that the Kuṇinda, who lived in the earlier period in the Kangra valley, had now moved to the east in the Garhwal valley and the bordering plains.

Likewise, the Yaudheya coins of the present types have been found in a hoard in the Jaunsar-Bawar region of Dehradun district[79] and in another hoard near Lansdowne in the Garhwal district.[80] This type of coins, in their motifs are very close to the above type coins of the Kuṇindas. The type and the finds, both thus indicate that the two tribes were in the neighbourhood of each other. Or it might be that the Yaudheya had occupied the Kuṇinda territory, when they migrated from Rajasthan. Any way, the two tribes were occupying in this period the hilly tracts of Garhwal, Dehradun and the plains of Saharanpur district.

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VII

In the subsequent period, which covers second to fourth century A. D., three tribes—Yaudheya, Mālava and Ārjunāyana are known from their coins. Of these, the Yaudheya are known from earlier periods through their coins; but the coins that are now found, are not from the localities, which they were holding in the earlier periods.[81] The Mālava are discussed above, but their coins are known exclusively in this period.[82] The Ārjunāyana are mentioned by Pāṇini,[83] but during all these periods, nothing is heard about them. They are known for the first time in this period[84] only from two coins. The coins of these tribes, apart from being contemporary, are also uniform in their legends. They are :

Yaudheya		*Yaudheya gaṇasya jayaḥ.*[85]
Mālava	(a)	*Mālava gaṇasya jayaḥ.*[86]
	(b)	*Mālavānām jayaḥ*
	(c)	*Jaya Mālavānām*
Ārjunāyana		*Ārjunāyanānām jayaḥ*[87]

Here the Yaudheya and Mālava have called themselves as *gaṇa* a term which was used earlier on the Vṛishṇi coins; but here it does not seem to connote the same sense, in which the Vṛishṇi had used it. This term is left out by the Mālava in legends b and c; and the Ārjunāyana do not have it on their known coins. On such coins, both the tribes speak for themselves in plural. This probably indicates that the power of the *gaṇas* was vested in people.

The peculiarity of these legends lies in the use of the term *jaya*. It ordinarily means 'victory'; but here it is used in a technical sense, which Pāṇinī has referred to in his *sūtra-jayaḥ karanam.*[88] It implies an instrument of victory *(jayanti teneti jayaḥ-Kāśikā)* which was distinguished from the other word *jaya* denoting victory[89] by an accute accent on its initial vowel. The term *jaya* found on these coins should be

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interpreted in this light. This means that these tribes proclaimed their coins as the symbol of their authority. This shows that the issue of coins had now become the prerogative of the state.

As we have noted earlier, the Mālava coins are exclusively found in the region Jaipur-Tonk. Cunningham has described one of the two coins of the Ārjunāyana under Mathura, which tends to suggest that it was found in that area. But he thought that Ajudhan on the bank of old Sutlej may still preserve some traces of their name.[90] Smith locates the tribe to the west of Agra and Mathura in the Bharatpur region as he finds some relation in their coins with the coins of the Mathura Satraps.[91] Allan places the Ārjunāyana within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.[92] If this is accepted the Ārjunāyana may well be placed as the neighbours of Mālava towards the east.

The moulds of the Yaudheya coins of the type attributed to this period, are found in large number, from time to time at Sunet close to Ludhiana; this indicates that Sunet was an important centre of the Yaudheya at this time. Thus, it may be said that they were here. But this places them far away to the north from the other two tribes. And this is unaccountable in the light of the legends. The Yaudheya were in the vicinity of the Mālava and Ārjunāyana area just in the preceding period. It is not unlikely therefore, that the legend on the coins had found inspiration during that period. This needs however, scrutiny.

VIII

To sum up, the tribal coins reveal in the geographical context that—

(a) Most of the tribes were short lived; and only a few survived for a longer period.

(b) The tribes were migratory by nature or were forced by circumstances to move; they existed at different places in different times.

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(c) In the earlier period, the tribes were mostly confined to the north-eastern part of the Punjab and almost in a compact area; but in later times, they had splitted in different pockets in Rajasthan and the hilly regions of Uttar Pradesh.

(d) Whenever and where ever two or more tribes lived in close vicinity, they followed a common pattern of their administration, as is revealed from the pattern of the coin-legends.

References

1. *BMC, AI*, intro., pp. xiii-xiv.
2. *Ibid*, p. lxxix.
3. Cf. *Coins of Ancient India; A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics.*
4. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 1-5.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.
6. *IMC*, I, Titles under Contents.
7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.
9. *JNSI*, IV, p. 49.
10. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. lxxxii; p. 121.
11. *Ibid*, p. lxxxiii; p. 122.
12. *Ibid*, p. c; p. 158.
13. *Ibid*, p. ci; p. 159.
14. *Ibid*, p. civ.
15. *Ibid*, p. cxxii; p. 210.
16. *Ibid*, p. cxxiii; p. 213.
17. *Ibid*, p. cxxxix.
18. *Ibid*, p. clv.
19. *Ibid*, p. cliv.
20. *Ibid*, p. cxlvii; p. 265.
21. *JNSI*, IV, p. 51.
22. *BMC, AI*, pp. 210-12.
23. *Ibid*, intro., p. cxl.
24. *JNSI*, IX, p. 82.
25. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. cliv.
26. *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, p. 10.
27. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. cliv.
28. *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 71.
29. *India as Known to Panini*, p. 475.

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30. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, 57.
31. *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 89; 85.
32. *IMC, I*, p. 165.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *BMC, AI*, intro. p. cxxiii.
35. *Ibid*, p. cliv.
36. *Ibid*, p. xxxvi.
37. II. 50. 12.
38. See f. n. 79 below.
39. *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 71.
40. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 258.
41 Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, i, p. 709.
42. *BMC, AI*, intro , pp. cxxiii-iv.
43. This fact may now be realised well in the light of the facts that have come to our knowledge during India's last two wars against Pakistan on the south-western front.
44. Sabhāparva, XXXVI.
45. Mc Crindle, *The Invasions of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 366.
46. Sabhāparva, XXXII. 7
47. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, p. 282.
48. XVII. 96.
49. *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, p. 10.
49a. *JNSI*, XXXII, p. 158-60.
50. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. lxxxv.
51. *Ibid*, p. lxxxiv.
52. *Ibid*, p. ci.
53. *Ibid*, p. c. [A different arrangement of the legends is given here in 50-53, than the ones given by Allan and followed by most scholars. *JPS*].
54. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67. Here the coin is mentioned as Audumbara coin.
55. *PASB*, 1893, pp. 11-12.
56. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67.
57. *NS*, XXII, p. 247ff.
58. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. lxxxvii.
59. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, pl. IV, fig. 14. [Some Kulūta coins were found from Taxila also. These belong to Virayaśa Vijaymitra, Sachamita and...Ārya cf. *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. 71ff. *JPS*.]
60. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 53ff.
61. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. clv-vi.
62. *Hindu Polity*, p. 20.

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63. *IHQ*, 1951, pp. 202-203. [There is nothing to confirm the federation of the Vṛishṇis and the Rājanyas, cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 124. *JPS*]
64. *Jātaka*, IV. 108.
65. IV. I. 137; cf. *India as Known to Panini*, p. 428.
65a. [cf. also *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 124, wherein it is stated that 'among the Vṛishṇis only the Kshattriyas were responsible for the administration of their country and the protection of the people'. *JPS*].
66. *India as Known to Panini*, p. 428.
67. X. 60. 37-38; 1. 15. 39; XI. 31. 25.
68. XVI. 7.70. This and the previous reference has been brought to light for the first time by Asim Kumar Chatterjee *JNSI*, XXXIV, II, pp. 203.
69. V. 38. 19.
70. Acharya Bhagavan Deo, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 95ff.
71. *JNSI*, XXXII, p. 154ff.
72. *CII*, III, p. 251.
73. *EI*, VIII, pp. 44, 47.
74. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. cxl. [Elsewhere coins with this legend are attributed to a tribe named the Kumāras, see below XII. *JPS*].
75. *Ibid*, p. ciii.
76. *Ibid*, p. ciii.
77. *Princeps Essay's*, I, pl. 1.3.6.
78. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 71.
79. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 36ff.
80. *JNSI*, II, p. 109.
81. *Ibid*, XVIII, p. 46-48.
82. The Mālava coins are assigned by Cunnigham and Carlleyle to the period 250 B. C.—250 A. D. and by Rapson and Smith to 150 B. C. to 350 A. D. But Allan has rightly pointed out that they do not belong to the period earlier than second century A. D. (*BMC, AI*, intro., p. cvi).
83. IV. 2. 53. Gaṇapātha.
84. Allan has assigned the date 100 B. C. to these coins; but to me they are not earlier than this period for the reasons discussed elsewhere (*IHQ*, 1951, p. 208). [A new type of Ārjunāyana coin from Nohar, Rajasthan, is published in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, I, pp. 1ff. And another new type of the tribe reportedly found from the same site, formed the subject matter of a paper presented by Devendra Handa, at the 64th Annual Conference of the N. S. I. at Ludhiana. *JPS*.]

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85. *BMC, AI*, p. 276.
86. *IMC, I*, pp. 170-74.
87. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. lxxxii; p. 121; *IMC*, I, p. 166. [On the basis of the similarity of the legend the recently published coins of the Kshudrakas are also to be discussed here. Cf. Devendra Handa, in *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 13ff. *JPS*].
88. VI. I. 202; cf. *India as Known to Panini*, p. 433.
89. [For a different interpretation of the word *Jayaḥ* occurring on some coin legends, cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 136. *JPS*].
90. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 90.
91. *IMC*, I, p. 159; *JRAS*, 1897, p. 886.
92. *BMC, AI*, intro., p. lxxxiv.

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V

THE MINTING TECHNIQUES OF THE TRIBAL COINS

A. N. Lahiri

Before dealing with the minting technique of the tribal coins of ancient India we would like first to discuss the various processes of manufacturing coins that prevailed prior to their issue.

That the ancient Indians themselves invented their own techniques of minting coins and developed them to some extent is evident from a critical study of the archaic issues or the earliest known Indian coins which were current in India before the advent of foreign rulers and which bear somewhat enigmatic symbols but no writing or legend.[1] Archaic coins were manufactured by three distinct processes, viz. punch-marking, casting and die-striking.

By the first process coin-blanks of required weight were sufficiently heated and then impressed with various symbols by individual punches. In producing coins by casting, two negatively designed moulds were somehow joined together and molten metal was poured into the hollow space inside the moulds through a common hole or crater; and finally when the metal thus poured into the moulds took the design incised in them and solidified, the two moulds were taken apart and the coin cast in them was taken out.[2] The two moulds (one with the negative design of the obverse device and the other with that of the reverse device) so necessary for casting coins were apparently made of terracotta. Each of them was probably prepared by impressing on it the respective side of a metallic or terracotta replica of the intended coin. This simple casting technique was much improved at a later time; and instead of casting at a single operation one or two coins by a set of two moulds a large

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number of coins was cast by arranging in an ingenious manner a number of moulding discs one above the other.[3]

The die-striking process had two distinct stages of evolution. In the first stage only one side of the coin-blank was impressed with a device by a *single die*, while in the second stage devices were impressed on both sides of the coin-blank by *two separate dies*. The process was comparatively simple in the first state. A considerably heated coin-blank of required weight, placed on a hard surface, was impressed with a device (formed by either a group of symbols or a broad design) with the help of a die-punch, which is but a cylindrical bar having at one end the device in *intaglio*. Coins of this first stage is known as 'single-die' ones, and would often bear an *incuse* impression caused by the outer surface of the punch-die itself.[4] Those produced in the second stage involved a rather difficult process, and needed an anvil-die in addition to the punch-die. The anvil-die is 'an *intaglio* cut in an anvil' and it also bears a group of symbols or a broad device. Now, in preparing a coin with devices on both sides, the coin-blank is first heated to a semi-molten state and placed over the anvil-die, and then the die-punch is put on the blank and heavily struck by a hammer, so that the blank would have on its under side the impression of the anvil-die and on its upper side that of the punch-die. Coins of this second stage are called 'double-die' ones, and the technique involved is popularly known as the hammer-and-anvil process. These coins would also in most cases display the incuse impression on the side that had the impact of the die-punch, which were in early times generally smaller than the blanks. It is needless to say that the dies were made of hard material, which was naturally some metal like brass or bronze. It is also possible that iron, which can subsequently be hardened, was used for preparing dies.

The technique of casting coins was evolved and used before the invention of the die-striking process.[5] We may therefore presume with some amount of certainty that when

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the coinage of a particular locality or tribe include both cast and die-struck specimens, the former are generally earlier in date than the latter.

However, no coin issued by any tribe of ancient India is known to have been manufactured by the punch-marking process; and it is also fairly certain that no ancient Indian tribe, except the Yaudheyas[6], produced coins by casting them in moulds. In fact, tribal coins of ancient India were almost in all cases produced by the die-striking process, which, as we shall see, generally underwent a gradual but natural evolution and were, only in rare instances, somewhat influenced by the superior technique of certain coins of foreign rulers Characteristics of the superior foreign, i.e. Greek, die-striking technique are : (a) use of big enough die-punch to cover the entire coin-blank, (b) even flans, (c) broad devices, (d) uniform and balanced designs, (e) border around designs, and (f) biscriptual and bilingual legends.

It is often not so easy to determine whether a particular ancient coin, tribal or otherwise, was produced by the casting or the die-striking process, specially when it is of copper and is in a bad state of preservation. Unfortunately enough, scholars dealing with tribal issues, which are mostly in copper, very rarely leave any indication as to their technique of manufacture. Then, in cases when specimens of certain series of tribal coins have to be studied from illustrations alone, one may commit an error about the process of their production.

In this connection it is necessary to say a few words about the coin-blanks used in the die-striking process. The mint people had first to prepare blanks of suitable shape, size and weight. So far as square coins are concerned, their blanks might have been prepared in two ways. In some cases strips were first cut out of a thin hammered sheet of metal and then small bits of required size were chopped off; and the bits thus produced would serve as blanks. Squarish coin-blanks might have also been mass-produced by casting them

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together in rows of sockets cut out on flat sheets of metal or terracotta. Roundish blanks might as well be produced in the same casting process. But in some cases they were prepared by beating flat globules of required weight when in a semi-molten state. It is, however, very difficult to say how the blank of a particular die-struck ancient coin, tribal or otherwise, was produced without proper examination; and it is well-known that we have not yet started such examination in right earnest.

We shall not be doing any injustice to this paper if we try to visualize the state of affairs in the mints of our ancient tribes. Evidently they were not large establishments like modern mints, and did not employ a large number of workers and possess many implements, what to speak of machineries. Ancient mints were in fact small workshops often housed in one big room or hall. Where coins where manufactured by casting in moulds, one set of people would prepare the moulds, while another would melt the metal and pour it into the moulds.

The case would be a little different where minting of coins was effected in the die-striking process. One set of people would cut the dies, another set would prepare the blanks, while a third set would strike the blanks with the dies. It is likely that one and the same set of persons would in many cases perform more than one type of job. Since requirements of coins were not much, except in a few cases, not a great number of coin-blanks was wanted. Many dies were also not necessary in most cases, for the fact that coins, not so plentiful, were generally struck in copper and that in such cases the dies were saved from getting damaged as the coin-blanks they struck were heated to a semi-molten state. All these mean that tribal mints of ancient times did not need many implements and much labour.

We shall in this paper deal with the technique of manufacture of the coins of various tribes of ancient India

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in an alphabetical order. The tribes whose coins are known are : the Agratyas, the Audumbaras, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas, the Rājanyas, the Trigartas, the Vemakis and the Yaudheyas of the Punjab region; the Ārjunāyana, the Mālavas, the Śibis and the Uddehikas of the Rajasthan area,[6a] and the Nāgas of Padmāvati near Gwalior.

A. The Punjab Region

1. Coins of the Agratyas

Coins of the Agratyas are all in copper and bear a tree on the obverse and various devices on the reverse. They fall into two categories: (a) square and round coins bearing the legend, *Agodakā-Agācha-janapadasa*,[7] and (b) round pieces bearing the legend as *Agācha-mitapad-ābhishayaṇa*.[8] A shallow incuse on the obverse of the square pieces shows that they were manufactured by the indigenous process of die-striking, where the die-punch was smaller than the coin-blanks.[9] The technique adopted for the manufacture of the round pieces were also the same unsophisticated indigenous one. As shown by some round specimens, the die-punch involved was also sometimes smaller than the coin blanks.[10]

2. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas

The rare coins of the Ārjunāyanas are known in copper only. They are all round in shape and fall into two types.[11] Most of the known specimens of the Ārjunāyana coinage are in very bad state of preservation. But one or two somewhat better-preserved pieces reveal a shallow *incuse*, characteristic of die-struck issues.[12] Evidently, suitably prepared blanks of these coins were highly heated and struck in the hammer-and-anvil process, so that their upper side would receive the *incuse* impression of the die-punch along with the design cut into its surface. This unsophisticated technique of manufacturing coins is clearly indigenous in origin.

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3. Coins of the Audumbaras

Audumbara coins are known in both silver and copper. Besides copper pieces which are square, all silver and most of the copper issues of the Audumbaras are round in shape. Square copper coins were issued by three earlier chiefs, viz. Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha.[13] They are of the similar types and of same size and fabric. That these coins were manufactured by the striking process is evident from the *incuse* impression that most of these coins display on one side.[14] This fact makes the minting technique apparent. Suitably prepared square blanks of these coins were impressed with the devices in the well-known hammer-and-anvil process, but the striking was evidently done by heating the blanks to a semi-molten state. The technique involved is undoubtedly indigenous, and that fact has been duly recognized even by foreign scholars.

Copper coins of round shape were issued by four later chiefs of the Audumbaras, viz. Āryamitra, Mahīmitra, Mahābhūtimitra and Bhānumitra.[15] Since these coins were posterior to the issues of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, who are known to have used the die-struck technique for producing their coins, we may presume that they were also struck by dies. In fact, some of these coins display the incuse impression so characteristic of die-struck issues.[16]

Round silver coins of Dharaghosha are evidently die-struck and are technically interesting. They bear clear signs of Indo-Greek influence. They are of thin even fabric and almost perfectly round in shape, which fact perhaps indicates that their blanks were prepared by casting. But they were finally produced by the hammer-and-anvil process. Since the die-punch that was used to impress the reverse device, was of the same size as the coin-blank itself, the *incuse* impression is absent on these coins. The two obverse symbols of the trident-battle axe and the tree-in-railing and the reverse device of the figure of Viśvāmitra as also the obverse Brāhmī and the reverse Kharoshṭhī legends

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were neatly cut into the respective dies. Some scholars even see in the delineation of the figure of Viśvāmitra a close resemblance of the figure of Heracles as depicted on the Indian drachms of the Indo-Greek king Lysias.[18]

4. The Coins of the Kulūtas

The Kulūta coinage is represented by eleven square copper coins and a unique silver piece of round shape.[19] Copper coins which bear the names of Vijayamitra, Sachamitra (Satyamitra), Ārya (?) and Vīrayaśas, are unusually heavy in weight and of broad thick fabric. They are evidently produced by the die-striking process; but, as R.B. Whitehead remarks, 'there seems to have been some difficulty in manipulating the large dies',[20] that were used to strike them.

The unique Kulūta silver coin, which bears the name of king Vīrayaśa, is like its copper counterparts, die-struck and unusually heavy in weight, representing the otherwise unrecorded standard of the 40-*rati* Indian didrachm.[21] Apparently, the anvil-die bearing the obverse device in the negative had itself a slightly sunken surface, which fact resulted not only in the concavity on the obverse side of the coin but also made the reverse side a little convex. The die-punch was big enough to cover the entire surface of the reverse side. This last fact, coupled with the coin's peculiar weight-standard, indicates foreign influence, even though the devices of the coin consisting of symbols are thoroughly indigenous in character.

5. Coins of the Kuṇindas

The Kuṇinda coinage is represented by both silver and copper pieces, all of round shape. It falls into two distinct categories belonging to two different periods. Earlier coins are of two classes, according to their fabric, and bear the name of king Amoghabhūti. Coins of Class I which consist of silver and copper specimens of the same type are generally of neat fabric.[22] Coins of Class 2, which are only of copper, betray a coarse fabric and bear 'very

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incomplete legends.'[23] Kuṇinda coins of the second category and later date are represented by a single copper type and bear the name of Bhagavata Chhatreśvara.[24]

Silver coins of Amoghabhūti, which are of very neat fabric, were produced by a sophisticated process of striking. Both the obverse and the reverse designs were carefully and artistically cut into the anvil-die and the die-punch respectively. The die-punch was big enough to cover the entire surface of the reverse side of the coins. The minting technique of these purely indigenous type of coins betrays foreign influence, and may be compared with that involved in the production of the unique Kulūta silver peice dicussed above.

Amoghabhūti's copper coins of Class I, are, like their silver counterparts, of neat fabric. They were evidently manufactured as carefully as the latter. These copper coins bear on the reverse a pellet border in place of the Kharoshṭhī legend that occurs on the silver piece.[25] This fact perhaps indicates non-Indian influence.

Kuṇinda copper pieces of Class 2, which in their fragmentary legends bear the name of Amoghabhūti, are of coarse fabric, even though their mode of manufacture is the same as the coins of Class I. Evidently, the die-cutters were not so efficient, and their workmanship was somewhat crude. It is likely that some of these coins (if not all) were not produced in Amoghabhūti's own mint or even during his reign.[26]

Coins of Category II bearing the name of God Chhatreśvara (Śiva) appear to have been manufactured some two centuries later. They are of a crude fabric similar to that of the earlier coins of Class 2, and were evidently produced in the same striking process.

6. Coins of Rājanya-janapada

The tribe known by the name of 'Rājanya' issued only round copper coins. Evidently they lived in the Punjab

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region, where both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts were simultaneously current. They issued two different series of somewhat crude coins, one bearing the Brāhmī version and the other bearing the Kharoshṭhī version of the same legend.[27] Both the series, however, had the same types. The side that bears the device of the Bull (in rayed circle) had evidently the impact of the anvil-die, since the other side often bears an apparent *incuse* impression, which indicates that it was struck by the die-punch. The incuse impression that is seen on many specimens of the Rājanya coinage is not due to the fact that the die-punch was smaller than the coin-blanks. It is because of the misplacement of the cylindrical die-punch, for the apparent *incuse* is nowhere completely seen.[28]

7. Coin of the Trigarta-janapada

The coinage of the *janapada* of the Trigarta people is represented by a unique copper specimen of square shape. That the unique Trigarta coin was manufactured by the striking process is indicated by the shallow incuse impression that occurs on the side that bears the (Brāhmī) legend, *Trakata-janapadasa*.[29] The coin, though of indigenous type and fabric, betrays foreign influence by the square pellet border that encloses both the obverse and the reverse devices.

8. Coins of the Vemaki janapada.

The coinage of the Vemakis or Vaimakis includes both silver and copper specimens. Their copper issues are represented by a single small square coin, the fragmentary Brāhmī legend of which refers to the *janapada* named after them (*Vemaki-janapadasa*).[30] The coin was struck by the hammer-and-anvil process.

The silver issues of the Vemakis are represented by a unique round coin which resembles (but for the obverse Brāhmī legend instead of the Greek one) the bilingual and biscriptual 20-*rati* Indian drachms of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus I Soter in type, style and denomination.[31]

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The coin was evidently struck by the sophisticated hammer-and-anvil process, the coin-blanks conforming to the size of the neatly and carefully cut dies. The coin is datable to the first century B.C.—A.D.

9. Coins of the Yaudheyas

The Yaudheyas had rather an extensive currency, which falls into as many as six classes, though some of the classes are represented by rare or unique specimens. The Yaudheyas started their coin-issuing career with uninscribed potin issues and very soon evolved a copper coinage of their own. Only one single silver coin is known of the Yaudheyas.

Coins of Class I are generally uninscribed.[32] These are single-die pieces, requiring only a die-punch for striking. The peculiarity of this Yaudheya die-punch is that it had a convex surface[33] on which were cut the simple device consisting of two or three conventional but tiny symbols. The die-punch was invariably smaller than the coin-blanks as indicated by the resulting *incuse* impression.

Coins of Class 2 are double-die pieces, involving the simultaneous use of both the anvil-die and the punch-die. In this case also the dies had their peculiarity. While the surface of the die-punch was slightly convex, that of the anvil-die had a corresponding concavity, which fact resulted in the coin's somewhat scyphate appearance.[34] These coins refer to Bahudhānyaka which was apparently the chief city, where their mint was located (*Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhāñake*). A large number of fragments of the (used terracotta moulds for casting coins of Class 2 was discovered from Rohtak in 1936 and since carefully studied by Birbal Sahni.[35] These moulds are of unusual interest and prove beyond doubt that the Bahudhānyaka coins of the Yaudheyas were also produced by the casting process, which fact raises the possibility that amongst the coins of this class lying in various cabinets there may well be some cast specimens, so far not so distinguished. The highly complex technique involved in casting these coins

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has been elaborately described by Sahni. As he says, "the mould was made up of a series of discs placed in a vertical column, like a pile of coins. The whole pile was plastered over with clay, only a funnel-like crater being left at the top for receiving the molten metal. The crater led vertically down into a central canal, like the shaft of a mine. From this canal, again, as in a mine, horizontal channels led out at different levels, and these opened into the coin sockets. At each level eight such channels radiated from the central shaft, and opened into as many coin sockets arranged in a ring. The coupled faces of contiguous discs bore the negative impressions of the obverse and reverse, respectively, and were so placed as to make the opposing sockets coincide exactly.

"After the metal had been poured in and the mould was cooled enough, it was broken up and the coins, attached in whorls at the ends of the spokes, were broken off, the remaining metal being again put into the melting pot. Occasionally a coin hurriedly broken off would carry away with it the end of the spoke. On the other hand, a portion of the coin's margin may be left behind on the spoke and the coin shows a concave scar."

The unique slightly broken Yaudheya silver piece of Class 3, which is of a neat fabric and was issued in the name of God Brahmanya, is a double-die piece of the denomination of the 20-*rati* drachm introduced by the Indo-Greeks.[37] But for the fact that the coin follows the Indo-Greek standard and has a pellet border on the reverse, it is thoroughly indigenous in character. Minting technique of the copper pieces of Class 3 does not call for any special remark, since it only involved the contemporary hammer-and-anvil process of striking.

The unique and obscure small square copper coin of Class 5 obviously followed the purely indigenous method of striking, as is indicated by the shallow incuse on the obverse.[38] Since the other side of the coin is not illustrated apparently

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because of illegibility, it is not possible to determine if at all it was a double-die coin.

The large round Yaudheya copper coins of Class 6, which come in unusually large number and which apparently followed the 100-*rati* standard (rather uncommon for copper issues)[39] are very interesting from the point of view of the manufacturing technique. In their very style, size and depiction of devices they recall the copper coins of the Kushāṇa monarchs.[40]

Obviously, the initial genuine specimens which were produced in the 'regular' state mints were struck in the Kushāṇa-oriented hammer-and-anvil process. But the discovery from Sunet of thousands of fragmentary and used terracotta moulds producing coins of this Class 6, now makes it clear that coins of Class 6 were also cast in moulds[41] and that amidst hundreds of such known specimens all are not die-struck ones, even though that fact has so far gone undetected. Incidentally, it may be noted that in cases where sophisticated methods were involved it is not always easy to distinguish a cast coin from its die-struck counterpart.

"The Sunet moulds", says Sahni, "are single-coin discs, sometimes still seen joined together back to back, but the details of the mode of casting are not clear. This much at least is certain that they were.....cast in single cylinders supplied with metal either through one end or from the side."[42]

Apparently, the officially produced original die-struck Yaudheya coins of Class 6 became so highly popular and eagerly sought after that they ultimately began to be mass-produced by simpler and somewhat easier process, which did not involve the use of skillfully prepared and consequently expensive metallic dies. It is however not easy to determine if these cast specimens were manufactured by the state authorities or by unauthorised agencies like (contemporary) forgers and (later) imitators.

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B. The Rajasthan Area

1. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas

The extremely rare Ārjunāyana coinage is represented by two clear types of generally ill-preserved round copper specimens.[43] That the coins of the Ārjunāyanas were all manufactured by the striking process is clear from the *incuse* impression seen on them. The technique of die-striking involved in making the Ārjunāyana coins is conventionally indigenous in character.

2. Coins of the Mālavas

Coins of the famous ancient tribe of the Mālavas are represented by round copper pieces of a number of types and varieties.[44] They are very tiny in size and rank amongst the world's lightest monetary issues.[45] Naturally, these coins are very thin in fabric. Earliest of the Mālava coins are, however, of a comparatively large flan.[46]

The Mālava coins were evidently struck by dies, extraordinarily small in dimension. The die punches involved were no bigger than punches that impressed symbols on punch-marked coins. The difference between the Mālava die-punches and the punches of the punch-marked coins is that while the designs on the former are in *incuse*, those on the latter are in *relief*. The blanks of the Mālava coins were apparently prepared by beating thin semi-molten copper globules. They were then placed on the anvil-die, and were finally struck with the die-punch—*efficiently and carefully*.[47]

3. Coins of the Śibis

Legends of the rare copper coins of the ancient Śibi tribe refer to their *janapada* as well as what was evidently their headquarters, viz. Madhyamikā (*Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*).[48] These generally very badly preserved coins were apparently produced by the striking process.

4. Coins of the Uddehikas

The rare and somewhat obscure copper coins of round shape, assignable to the Uddehikas, are apparently of the

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same devices, though their legends are different—some reading only *Udehaki* and others reading *Udehaki Suyamitasa.*[49] These coins, as the *incuse* impression on many of them indicates, were produced by the unsophisticated and indigenous hammer-and-anvil process, recalling certain Mathura issues.[50]

C. The Padmāvatī-Gwalior Area

1. Coins of the Nāgas

Coins of the Nāgas[50a] which generally come from the Padmāvatī area in the former Gwalior State are a class by themselves. Known in copper alone, these coins have a striking resemblance in size and general appearance with the tiny Mālava issues, though they are thicker in fabric and consequently heavier in weight. The majority of the Nāga issues are round in shape, while square coins of rare occurrence are known of a few rulers.[51] The Nāga coins were evidently manufactured by a purely indigenous and unsophisticated die-striking technique. Most of them reveal a shallow concavity on the side that bears the legend. This is due to the fact that the design-end of the die-punches had a concave surface. This fact recalls the peculiarity of certain Yaudheya coins (Class 2). The pellet border that is seen on the obverse of certain Nāga issues[52] is the result of a convention which practically assumed an Indian character, and may not be due to any direct foreign influence.

References

1. Cf. the author's paper, "The Punch-marked Coins and the Question of their Prototype". *JNSI*, XXX (1968), pp. 1-9, where he has tried to show that Indians evolved their own coins, represented by the archaic issues.
2. Sometimes moulds of two coins were joined together for the casting process, and the joins thus left are found still adhering to the coins : cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum [BMC, AI]*, Pl. XII. 1-2.
3. Cf. Birbal Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, 1945, pp. 57-59, where details of the late and complex casting technique used in Rohtak are given.

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4. This *incuse* results from the fact that larger coin-blanks were impressed in a semi-molten state by die-punches of smaller dimension. Incidentally, such incuse impressions appear very prominently on archaic Greek coins : cf. C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (1955), Pl. IV. 1-12. They had evidently nothing to do with early Indian tribal issues
5. Cf. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 18 : "The casting of coins by pouring molten metal into a cavity formed by joining two moulds together must have been a very ancient practice in India". Also see the foot-note on the same page which reads : "Nearchus, the companion of Alexander, says that the Indians used only cast bronze but not hammered. Strabo XV, c. 716".
6. See coins of the Yaudheyas below.
6a. [Some coins of the Kshudrakas, too are now known from this area, cf. *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 13ff. *JPS*.]
7. For the round coins see *BMC, AI*, p. 283, No. 28, Pl. XLV. 24 and for the square ones, *ibid*, p. 279, Pl. XLV. 9.
8. *Ibid*, p. 282, No. 22 Pl. XLV. 21.
9. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XLV. 9.
10. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XLV. 24.
11. See *ibid*, p. 121, Nos. 1-2. [For two other new types see Bela Lahiri's paper Typology of the Tribal Coins, fn. 77a. *JPS*].
12. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XIV. 10 and 11.
13. See *ibid*, p. 122, No. 1 Pl. XV. 1 (Śivadāsa), p. 122, Nos. 3-11, Pl. XV. 2-4 Rudradāsa), and p. 125, No. 22, Pl. XIV. 15 (Dharaghosha).
14. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XV. 1-4, 7, 9-10.
15. See *ibid*, pp. 125-126, No. 26, Pl. XV. 13 (Āryamitra); pp. 126-127, Nos. 31-34, Pl. XV. 20 (Mahīmitra); p. 287, No. 30a (Mahābhūtimitra) and pp. 127-128, Nos. 35-45, Pl. XV. 21 (Bhānumitra). [But probably these chiefs had nothing to do with the Audumbaras except perhaps being their political successors, cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 130-31. *JPS*]
16. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XIV. 14.
17. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV. 14.
18. Cf. A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (*CIGC*), Pl. XXIII. 9.
19. See John Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 820, Nos. 252-257 (square copper coins) and *BMC, AI*, p. 158, No. 1, Pl. XVI. 4 (silver coin). [The socalled silver coin of Kulūta Virayaśa is actually a copper piece, cf. K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of India*, p. 72, n. 8. *JPS*].

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20. *Taxila*, II, p. 841.
21. Coins of the denominations of both 10-*rati* tetradrachm and 20-*rati* drachm of the Indian standard were extensively struck by the Indo-Greek kings and their foreign successors, but not a single silver coin of the denomination of 40-*rati* didrachm is known of them.
22. For the respective silver and copper coins of Class I see *BMC, AI*, p. 159, No. 1, Pl. XXII. 1 and p. 162, No. 22, Pl. XXII. 16.
23. Cf. *ibid*, p. 164, No. 35, Pl. XXIII. 12.
24. *Ibid*, p. 167, No. 70, Pl. XXIII. 12.
25. See *ibid*, Pl. XIII. 1.
26. Cf. V.A Smith, *Catatogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (IMC)*, p. 161 : "They vary much in execution, and probably extend over a considerable period". Allan does not readily accept the view of Smith, but does not discount "the probability that they are imitations made by early Kushān invaders like the imitations of coins of Hermaeus" (*BMC, AI*, p. cii).
27. For coins with Brāhmī legend see *BMC, AI*, p. 210, No. 1, Pl. XXIX. 15, and for those with Kharoshṭhī legend see *ibid*, p. 211, No. 12, Pl. XXIX. 13.
28. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XXIX. 17 and 19.
29. Cf. *ibid*, p. 212, No. 19 Pl. XXIX. 10.
30. *Ibid*, p. 280, No. 9, Pl. XLV. 14. The writing of the legend appears to have been bungled on this specimen.
31. Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. VII. 1-2.
32. See *BMC, AI*, pp. 265-266. Some of these coins bear a one-word legend reading *Mahārājasa* : p. 266, Pl. XXXIX. 10. [The attribution of the coins of this class to the Yaudheyas is doubtful cf. B. Lahiri, Typology of the Tribal coins, f. n. 65, above-*JPS*.]
33. Cf. the Mathura piece, *ibid*, Pl. XXV. 9.
34. Cf. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXXIX. 11-12.
35. *TCCAI*, pp. 44 ff. and 57-59.
36. *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.
37. *BMC, AI*, p. 270, No. 47, Pl. XXXIX. 21.
38. *Ibid*, p. 275, No. 81, Pl. XLIV. 27. (The attribution of the unique and obscure copper piece of Allan's Class 4 is doubtful.)
39. 100-*rati* copper coins are not so common. Only a few Taxila pieces, e. g. *BMC, AI*, pp. 220-221, No. 48, 54, 55 may represent this standard, even though Cunningham asserts that the

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"square copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, and the contemporary native coins of two dies, are all pieces of 1¼ paṇa, weighing about 180 grains" (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 46).

40. Cf. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XL. 1 (Yaudheya coin of Class 6), and R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Pl. XVII. 147. The depiction of the reverse deity on both the specimens is strikingly similar.
41. Cf. Sahni, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV. 89-101.
42. *Ibid*, p. 61.
43. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XIV. 10 and Pl. XIV. 11. The other coin, Pl. XIV. 12 is too obscure to be properly attributed.
44. See V. A. Smith, *IMC*, pp. 161-164 and 170-178 (descriptions).
45. See *ibid*, p. 163 : "No. 106, with pinnate palm-leaf on obv., vase on rev., and weight 1.7, diam. 2, may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world."
46. See *ibid*, p. 163.
47. The operation naturally called for remarkable skill.
48. See *BMC, AI*, p. 213, Nos. 21-22, Pl. XLIV. 6-7. and Pl. XXXIX. 14.
49. See *ibid*, p. 240, No. 1, Pl. XXXV. 16 (*Udehaki*) and Pl. XXXV. 17 (*Udehaki Suyamitasa*).
50. Cf. *ibid*, Pl. XXV. 12-15.
50a. [The coins of the Nāgas do not seem to fall under the class of coins now known by the term Tribal Coinage cf. fn. 101a in B. Lahiri's paper 'Typology of the Tribal coins', above *JPS.*]
51. See for coins of the Nāgas in general H.V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*, 1957, Plates.
52. See *ibid*, Pl. I. 1; Pl. II. 36; Pl. III. 4, etc.

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VI

SYMBOLS ON TRIBAL COINS : AN INTERPRETATIVE STUDY

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Indigenous monetary issues of Northern India belonging to the post-Maurya and pre-Gupta period are generally classified into two groups called (i) Local and (ii) Tribal coins. By Tribal coins are understood such species as bear the names of the tribes responsible for issuing them or those that can be otherwise attributed to a tribe. Tribal coins, generally assignable to the period between the second century B. C. and third-fourth centuries A. D., have contributed lion's share to the reconstruction of the political history of the said period. Our knowledge of the history of the region in this period would have been almost nil but for the Local and Tribal coins.

Tribal coins are either cast or die-struck. They are generally of copper, billon and silver pieces being comparatively rare. A majority of them are inscribed, uniscribed coins being few and far between. The legends generally give us the names of the issuing tribes often coupled with the names of the ruling chiefs. There are also instances where the names of either ruling chiefs or tribal republics alone are given. These considerably advance our knowledge of their political career. In addition to legends, they also bear some device or devices on one or both sides. Although in the absence of an ancient glossary of symbols it may not be possible to ascertain the exact meanings of these devices, there is no doubt whatsoever that they are meaningful and that their vocabulary was fully understood by the people who used the species bearing them. One may only guess that some of these devices might have served as heraldic emblems or canting badges of the issuing authorities, some

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others might have been locality marks, and there may be many others whose significance cannot even be properly guessed. A correct interpretation of these devices, as and when accomplished, is undoubtedly bound to enhance our understanding of the other aspects of ancient history besides imparting clarity to our notions about political history. While an interpretation of these symbols is not always possible and one cannot be sure about the correctness of the suggested interpretations, sometimes we do get some help in this task from some other sources, particularly the associated legends. In some cases the connection between the legends and the devices is so explicit as not to leave any doubt about the interpretation of the latter. But unfortunately such assistance is not forthcoming in all the cases. While one cannot be quite definite about the exact nature of these symbols, it is generally admitted that a majority of them have a religious bering. And this is supported by the fact that whenever it is possible to establish some relationship between the legends and the devices[1], the latter can definitely be proved to be of a religious character. Therefore, if we could understand the language of these symbols, our knowledge about the religious conditions of the period is likely to be far greater than would have been the case otherwise. In the present paper an attempt is made to study some of the important symbols and see their bearing on the religious history of the period.

A careful study of the relevant coin-data will reveal that Śiva worship commanded immense popularity throughout the period under review and that some of the myths and legends centering round the god had also become current. As evidenced by our coins, he was worshipped both in the anthropomorphic form as well as symbolically.[2] In this connection we must first mention some round cast copper coins bearing the legend *Kāḍasa* in early Brāhmī characters assignable to the latter half of the third or early second century B. C.,[3] bearing, among others, a rudely carved

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human figure holding a staff in left hand[4] and what appears to be a water-vessel[5] in the right hand.[6] Allan invites attention to the resemblance between this figure and a similar one represented on Ujjayini coins and suggests his identification with Kārttikeya.[7] But as we have shown elsewhere,[8] the corresponding figure on Ujjayini coins should be identified as Śiva, as *daṇḍa* (staff) and *kamaṇḍalu* (water-vessel) are especially associated with him. Consequently, the figure on thd Kāḍa coins in question also must be taken as Śiva. In that case this would be one of the earliest representations of Śiva in human form so far as the historical period is concerned.

Next in chronological order comes the representation of Śiva on Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coins attributable to the second century A. D. Some anonymous copper coins of the Kuṇindas dating from the end of the second or beginning of the following century A. D.[9] bear on the obverse the figure of Śiva standing facing holding trident with battle-axe in his right hand, while the left hand, from which hangs what is described as leopard skin by Cunningham,[10] rests on the hip (*kaṭi-hasta*).[11] As pointed out by J. N. Banerjea,[12] his head is adorned with locks of hair arranged in the *jaṭā-bhāra* fashion, while on a few specimens he looks like standing under an umbrella. This last feature appears to be alluded to by the name Chhatreśvara by which he is referred to in the coin-legend.[13] The legend which apparently reads *Bhagavata-chhatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ*[14] seems to be intended for *Bhagavataś = chhatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ* which means (this coin is) of (or belongs to) the worshipful great souled Chhatreśvara *i. e.*, lord of *chhatra* or umbrella (which was regarded as a sign of sovereignty in ancient India). This brings into relief a novel feature of the religio-political life of ancient India according to which the state was dedicated to or the royal power or success against an enemy was regarded as due to the favour of the presiding deity of the rulers. As will be seen in the sequel, this practice was prevalent among the Yaudheyas also.[15]

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Śiva standing facing front, holding trident (*triśūla*) in his right hand and with left hand in the *kaṭihasta* attitude also figures on the obverse of some round copper issues of the Yaudheyas belonging to variety *i* of Class 3. From his left hand appears something hanging similar to that seen on the above-mentioned Kuṇinda coins.[16] It is interesting to note in this connection that on the obverse of most other varieties of this class we find the figure of six-headed Kārttikeya who is mentioned in the legend under the name Brahmaṇyadeva-Kumāra. On one side of some of the coins of this class we also come across the six-headed goddess Shashṭhī consort of Kārttikeya It would thus follow that the tradition of a closer relationship between these divinities had become widely current during this period.

We have seen above that on the Kāḍa, Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coins Śiva is shown with a trident, sometimes with battle-axe, in one of his hands. It is a common knowledge that in ancient India deities were often represented by their emblems alone. Accordingly, we have instances of the representation of god Śiva by trident battle-axe alone. Thus, on the reverse of the unique silver coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghosha, who, like other chiefs of the tribe, was a devotee of Śiva, we meet with combined trident and battle-axe together with tree-in-railing,[17] which may have served as a *sthala-vṛiksha* of the god.[18] There can be no doubt whatsoever about the Śaivite association of the emblem which is known to have served as an attribute of the god.[19] It is also possible that the humped bull in a rayed circle figuring on the reverse of the round copper coins of the Rājanya-*janapada*[20] was intended to serve as a theriomorphic representation of Śiva.[21]

On one side of the copper coins of the Ārjunāyana republic assigned to the second century B. C.[22] and on the obverse of round potin and copper coins of Class 2 of the Yaudheya species dating from the late second and first centuries B.C.[23] we come across the depiction of a humped

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bull standing in front of what is undoubtedly a sacrificial post (*yūpa*).[24] It seems to allude to the *śūlagava* sacrifice described in some of the *Gṛihya-sūtras* wherein a bull was sacrificed to appease Rudra-Śiva the *mantras* specially connected with whom were recited while offering him the bull's omentum.[25]

Before we conclude our study of Śaivism as gleaned from Tribal coins reference must be made to a structure figuring on the reverse of the square copper coins of the Audumbara chiefs Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha.[26] There is a great divergence of opinion about the nature of this structure. According to Cunningham, it is a 'pointed-roofed temple of two or three storeys, with pillars',[27] while Allan describes it as 'a two-storied domed and pillared stūpa'.[28] R. D. Banerji agreed with Cunningham.[29] K.P. Jayaswal took it to stand for the mote-hall of the Audumbaras or some other public building.[30] Coomaraswamy described the structure appearing on certain Audumbara coins as 'a railed (circular ?) pavilion with four or five pillars and domed (thatched ?) roof with projecting eaves.'[31] The most plusible interpretation was, however, suggested by S. V. Sohoni who invited attention to a passage of Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* showing that generally outside the temples there were located weapons (*praharaṇas*) or flags (*dhvajas*) pointing to the name of the divinity inside the temple and thought that the structure under consideration is a Śaiva shrine of the type still common in the Kulu and Beas valleys.[32] This suggestion is vouched for not only by the combined trident battle-axe, a distinctive attribute of Śiva, beside the building but also by the sectarian title *Māhādeva*,[32a] *i.e.*, worshipper of Mahādeva, applied to the Audumbara chiefs in the Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends occurring on these coins.[33] The representation of this temple is of great importance. For while we have some epigraphic records of the second-first centuries B. C. referring to Vaishṇava temples, no equally early inscriptional reference to Śiva temples is available so far. The Audumbara coins in question show that like Vaishṇavite shrines Śaivite

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temples with storeyed superstructure and some kind of spire also existed in the second-first century B.C. In these temples must have been installed either Śiva images in human form or the phallic emblems of the god.

Extant numismatic evidence indicates that Skanda-Kārttikeya also was popularly worshipped by people. Particular importance in this connection attaches to certain classes of Yaudheya coins which bear the representations of the god who is also mentioned in the accompanying legend. Thus, on the obverse of their silver and most of copper coins of Class 3 dating from about the second century A. D.[34] we come across the representation of the frontally conceived standing figure of the six-headed *(shaṇmukha* or *shaḍānana)* god Skanda-Kārttikeya holding a spear *(śakti)* in his right hand, the left one being akimbo. The six heads are arranged in two tiers of three each.[35] On variety *b* of the same class, however, he is depicted as single-headed with an aureole round the head.[36] The identification of the god with Skanda-Kārttikeya is vouched for not only by his characteristic attribute, *śakti,* which is invariably present, and the six heads, which are typical of him, but also by the Brāhmī legend on the obverse clearly referring to him under the name Brahmaṇya or Brahmaṇyadeva-Kumāra.[36a] Equally interesting is the major reverse device of some of the varieties of Class 3 consisting of the representation of a standing goddess, sometimes radiate, shown as single-headed[37] or six-headed.[38] In the case of the six-headed goddess, the heads are arranged in two rows of three each exactly like those of Kārttikeya. The single-head goddess, sometimes standing on lotus[39] and with her right hand raised and the left one resting on the hip, is generally identified with Lakshmī.[40] The six-headed goddess was correctly identified by V. S. Agrawala[41] with the goddess Shashṭhī, also called Devasenā, who was regarded as the goddess of child-birth[41a] and is described in literature as the consort of Skanda.[42] In the *Mahābhārata* she is identified with the goddess Lakshmī[43] As pointed out by Agrawala,[44] she is styled *shaṇmukhī* (six-

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faced) in the *Kāśyapa Saṃhitā*.[45] And just as Skanda-Kārttikeya is depicted both as one-headed and six-headed, it is quite likely that even the goddess with a single head seen on the Yaudheya coins may have been intended as Shashṭhī or Devasenā.

Skanda also figures on the obverse of Class 6 of round copper coins of the Yaudheyas dating from the third-fourth century A. D. As on the coins of Class 3, here also the god is standing, holding spear in his right hand, the left one resting on the hip; but here he is single-headed, and his mount, peacock, appears at his left foot. On the reverse figures a single-headed goddess walking to left with her right hand raised and the left one akimbo.[46] Although she is usually identified as Lakshmī,[47] it will be more plausible to take her to stand for Skanda's spouse Shashṭhī-Devasenā. In fact, because of her being identified, or rather confounded, with Lakshmī there was little difference left between the features of the two goddesses.

Brief reference may be made here to the legend on the coins of Class 3. The legend on silver coins as amended by Allan reads *Yaudheya-bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya (sa* or *sya*[48]*)* which, with some further amendations, would mean '*(this coins is)* of the divine lord Brahmaṇya of the Yaudheyas.'[48a] The legend on much more numerous copper species has been restored as *Bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa) Kumārasya* (or *sa)*[49] which after adequate corrections would give the sense, viz. '*(this coin is)* of the divine lord Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra.'[50] It would thus follow that these coins were issued in the name of Skanda-Kārttikeya who was regarded by the Yaudheyas as their lord.[50a] The case is thus similar to that of the Kuṇinda issues taken out in the name of Chhatreśvara-Śiva, already noted. We may thus conclude that the Yaudheyas thought of god Brahmṇayadeva-Kumāra as the real ruler of their state and of themselves as the carriers of the administrative work on his behalf.

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The prominence attached to Skanda-Kārttikeya by the Yaudheyas was quite in keeping with the great popularity of the god in the region under their control as indicated by the extant literary evidence. The *Mahābhārata* (ii. 32. 4-5), for example, speaks of Rohītaka (modern Rohtak, Haryana) as particularly favoured by Kārttikeya (*Kārttikeyasya dayitaṃ Rohītakam*), while the Buddhist text *Mahāmāyūrī* (verse 21) refers to him as the presiding deity of the same locality.

It may incidentally be pointed out that a temple is figured on the reverse of variety *h* of Class 3 of Yaudheya copper coins.[51] It must have evidently housed on image of Skanda-Kārttikeya who is represented on the other side and named in the legend.

Strangely enough, extant numismatic evidence on Bhāgavatism is very meagre as compared to the comparatively rich epigraphical evidence attesting its great popularity during a couple of centuries prior and posterior to Christ. It may be observed at the very outset that no concrete representation of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu is found on Tribal coins.[52] But wheel, his characteristic symbol, can be recognised on a few pieces. Thus, on the reverse of the unique silver coin of the Vṛishṇi-Rājanya-gaṇa we meet with the representation of an elaborate twelve-spoked wheel (*chakra*).[53] It has been taken by Cunningham and Allan as *dharma-chakra* symbolising the first sermon of the Buddha.[54] But in view of the close association of the Vṛishṇis with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa it should be better taken as representing the *Sudarśana-chakra* of the god.[54a] The same appears to be true of the wheel with twelve spokes surrounded by a circle of dots figuring on the obverse of the round copper coins of the Kulūta chief Vīrayaśas assignable to the first or early second century A. D.[55] In the light of this distinctly Vaishṇavite symbol Cunningham's description of the associated devices as Buddhistic has got to be given up.[56]

One of the most popular devices not only of Tribal but also of Local coins was the representation of goddess

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Lakshmī. So far as Tribal coins are concerned, the earliest representation of the goddess is to be met with on the reverse of some copper issues of the Ārjunāyanas datable to about the second century B.C. Here she is shown standing between what looks like a sacrificial post in a railing[57] and a tree and bears resemblance to the figure of the goddess seen on some other coins.[58] She is also figured on the obverse of the earliest silver and copper species of the Kuṇindas dating from *c.* first century B. C. as standing, sometimes on lotus, facing and holding flower in uplifted right hand, the left one being akimbo.[59] To her proper right is depicted a deer to right which, it has been suggested, may a theriomorphic depiction of goddess Śrī-Lakshmī standing in anthropomorphic form by its side or may stand for Yaksha Ushṭrapāda who was specially venerated in the Kuṇinda country.[60] The obverse of the round copper coins of the Rājanya-*janapada* also bears representation of goddess Lakshmī with the same handposes as on the Kuṇinda issues and closely resembling the figure of the goddess occuring on Mathura coins.[61] It will be seen that the goddess is figured on coins in association with devices representing diverse religious pantheons. This clearly indicates that as symbolising prosperity and royal fortune she was popularly worshipped by people at large irrespective of the religious order to which they may have been affiliated.[62]

The only other devices which may smybolise a well-known divinity are the elephant figuring either fully or in part (forepart) on some series of Tribal coins which may have been meant for the theriomorphic depiction of Indra who has elephant for his mount. But one cannot be quite sure about it. But the so-called triangle-headed standard can be more definitely taken to be *Indra-yashṭi* or *Indra-dhvaja* in honour whereof a festival was popularly organised annually.[63] The so-called Ujjain symbol may also possibly stand for thunderbolt (*vajra*), the attribute *par excellence* of Indra.[64]

There are a number of other symbols of auspicious character which formed a common heritage of the national

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culture as a whole and were commonly employed by all the people irrespective of the religious order to which they might have belonged. Among these were included *svastika, nandipada,* tree-in-railing, lotus, snakes, hills, etc. It is difficult to associate them with a particular religious sect as its exclusive property and many of them were interpreted differently by votaries of the various religious systems.

That all the devices figured on Tribal coins cannot be explained away as of purely religious or sectarian character can be illustrated by referring to the silver coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghosha on the obverse whereof is met with the standing figure of the sage Viśvāmitra who is explicitly so called in the Kharoshṭhī inscription seen beside him (*Viśpamitra*).[65] It has, of course, been suggested by some scholars that the figure in question is that of Śiva one of whose names is Viśvamitra.[66] But in the light of the evidence from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kālikā-purāṇa* which establish some connection between the fig tree (*udumbara*) and the birth of sage Viśvāmitra there can be no room for doubt that the sage, and not God Śiva, is intended here.[67] It is obvious that the Audumbaras traced their descent from him. In view of the special importance attached to the *udumbara* tree in the episode of the birth of Viśvāmitra from whom the Audumbaras traced their descent it is also quite likely that the tree figuring on the Audumbara coins is actually meant to represent the fig tree.[68] Of course, the same degree of precision is not possible in the case of the trees figuring on other coins.

It will follow from the foregoing that a study of the devices seen on the Tribal coins, as of those on the coins belonging to other series, sheds welcome light on the socio-religious history of ancient India and from this point of view their value can hardly be exaggerated.

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References

1. *E. g.*, the legends and devices on the coins of the Audumbaras and the Yaudheyas.
2. The same point comes forth from the study of Local coins. Vide Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Religious Study of the Symbols on the Local Coins of Central India", *Seminar Papers on Local Coins of Northern India* (edited by A.K. Narain and others, Varanasi, 1968), pp. 70ff.
3. Allan, *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. xcii. In the body of the *Catalogue* (p. 145), however, these coins are assigned to the third century B.C. Cunningham (*CAI*, p 62) describes the characters of the legend as Aśokan. [The coins with this legend are very controversial. There is practically no evidence at the moment to connect them with tribal coins. The find of one of these coins with those of the Kunindas cannot be taken as indicative of their tribal nature. *JPS.*]
4. *BMC, AI*, p. 146, Pl. XIX. 17, 19.
5. The object in the right hand is not mentioned in the Catalogue but in the introduction it is described as a small bag. *Vide* p. xciii. [But this socalled bag is indistinct. Probably there is nothing in the hand of the deity. *JPS.*]
6. *Ibid*, Pl. XIX. 17, 19.
7. *Ibid*, introduction, p. xciii.
8. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 73-74.
9. *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. ciii. In the Catalogue (p. 167), however, second century A.D. is mentioned as the date.
10. *CAI*, p. 72. *ibid*, p. 72, Pl. V. 4.
11. *Ibid*, p. 72, Pl. V. 4; *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. ciii, Catalogue, pp. 167-168, Pls. XXIII. 11-15; XLIII. 12-14. Allan does not mention the position of and the object hanging from the left hand.
12. *Development of Hindu Iconography* (second edition, Calcutta, 1956), p. 118.
13. In the coin-legend the initial letter of the name is clearly *cha*, which seems to be an error for *chha*. Some scholars took Chhatreśvara to be the name of a Kuṇinda chief Vide A. S. Altekar in the *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (Delhi, 1960), p. 31, S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (2nd edition, Calcutta, 1968), p. 163. But in that case the use of the titles *bhagavat* and *mahātman* will have to be explained. They are not employed for any other ruling chief on coins.

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14. Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 72) read the last word of the legend as *mahatana*, while the correct reading of the complete legend was given by Allan. Vide *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. ciii.
15. The practice of dedicating the state to the favourite deity etc., continued till late times. The Kalachuri kings of Tripurī appear to have dedicated their state to a saint named Vāmadeva and regarded themselves as his representative in its government. See my *Tripurī* (Bhopal, 1971), pp. 55-69. The kingdom of Mewar was also dedicated to its presiding deity, Lord Ekaliṅga, and the Guhila chiefs regarded themselves as representatives of the god. In our own times the rulers of Travancore acted as the substitutes of Lord Padmanābha who was regarded as the real ruler of the state. [But there is no positive evidence to show that the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas dedicated their states to their respective tutelary deities. cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 127-128, 133-134. *JPS*.]
16. *BMC, AI*, p. 275, Pl. XL. 13. The object hanging from the left hand was not noticed by Allan.
17. *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV. 1; *BMC, AI*, p. 124, Pl. XIV. 14.
18. In view of the undoubted Śaivite association of the trident-battle-axe figuring by the side, Cunningham's description of the device as 'tree surrounded by Buddhist railing' needs modification
19. Cf the reverse of a class of gold coins of Wima Kadphises where combined trident-battle-axe stands for god Śiva figured on other coins. See A. H. Wood III, *The Gold Coin-Types of the Great Kushāṇas*, p. 15, no. 13.
20. *BMC, AI*, pp. 210-211, Pl. XXIX. 13, 15-23.
21. For theriomorphic representation of Śiva in the form of a bull on some coins from Ujjayinī, see *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 72.
22. *BMC, AI*, p. 121. On p. lxxxiii it is stated that the epigraphy of the coins suggests a date about 100 B. C.
23. *Ibid*, p. clii.
24. *Ibid*, p. 121, Pl. XIV. 11 (Ārjunāyana); Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 180-181, Pl. XXI. 13-14; *BMC, AI*, pp. cxlvii-cxlviii, 267-270, Pl. XXXIX. 6, 11-15, 17-19 (Yaudheya). Cunningham wrongly described the object in the railing as Bodhi tree (*CAI*, p. 77). Smith referred to the object before the bull as 'a railing with curved object rising from it '(*CCIM*, I, p. 180). In the catalogue (pp. 267-268) Allan gives only the drawing of the object but in the introduction (p. cxlvii) it is doubtfully described as a sacrificial post. The object on the Ārjunāyana

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coins is very much similar to that on the Yaudheya species, but Allan doubtfully describes it as *liṅgam* (pp. lxxxii, 121). There is no doubt, however, that the object represented on both the series is a sacrificial post within an enclosure. Also see J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 109-110.

25 Vide *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛihyasūtra*, ii. 3.8; *Parāśara-gṛihyasūtra*, iii. 8; *Āśvalāyana-gṛihyasūtra*, iv. 9. Also see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, IV, p. 150.

26. *BMC, AI*, Pls. XIV. 15; XV. 1-5, 10. We have shown elsewhere that Mahādeva and other chiefs had nothing to do with the Audumbaras. Vide *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 157-161; XXVII, pp. 87-90; XXXII, pp. 14-18; XXXIV, pp.

27. *CAI*, p. 68.

28. In *BMC, AI*, introduction, p lxxxiii, it is described as a two-storied domed and pillared stūpa, while in the Catalogue, pp. 122, 125, it is referred to only as two storied domed stūpa.

29 *JASB*, 1914, pp. 247-250.

30. *Hindu Polity* (second edition, Bangalore, 1943), p. 159.

31. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Dover edition, 1965), p 237, Pl. XXX 116, 117.

32. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 54-57.

32a. [We have shown elsewhere that the expression *Mahādeva* is used on the coins of the Audumbaras as a regal title and not as a sectarian epithet, cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 129. *JPS*.]

33. For a discussion of these legends see our papers in *ibid*, XXVI, pp. 157-161; XXVII, pp. 87-90; XXXII, pp. 14-18.

34. *CCIM*, I, p. 181; *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. cl. But in *ibid*, introduction, p. cliii this class is said to date from 'the later second century A.D.'

35. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI. 9-13; *CCIM*, I, pp. 181-182, Pl. XXI. 15-17; *BMC, AI*, pp. 270-275, Pl. XXXIX. 21 (silver), 20, (copper); Pl. XL. 10-12 (copper).

36. *CCIM*, I, p. 182, no. 18*a*; *BMC, AI*, p. 272, Pl. XXXIX. 22.

36a. [An attempt has been made by N. Ahmad (see his paper XII below) that the coins of this class-copper pieces-are issued by an altogether different tribe, known to literature as Kumāras. *JPS*].

37. *Ibid*, pp. 270-272, Pl. XXXIX. 21 (silver), 20, 22; Pl. XL. 10-11; *CCIM*, I, p. 182, no. 16.

38. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI. 9-12; *CCIM*, I, pp. 181-182, Pl. XXI. 15-17; *JNSI*, II, Pl. X. no. 46; V, p. 29; XVIII, p. 48, Pl. VI. 3, 8.

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39. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXXIX. 21.
40. *Ibid*, introduction, pp. cxlix-cl.
41. *JNSI*, V, pp. 29-32; *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Loka-dharma*, p. 67.
41a. *Kauśitaki-gṛihyasūtra*, xix. 7; *Baudhāyana-pariśishṭa*, iv. 2.
42. The *Mahābhārata* styles Skanda as beloved of Shashṭhī (*Shashṭhī-priya*, Vanaparva, ccxxxii. 6) and Devasenā (*Devasenā-priya*, Vanaparva, ccxxxii. 8).
43. Vanaparva, ccxxix. 49-50. Also cf. the description of the *Shashṭhī-kalpa* in the *Mānava-gṛihyasūtra* wherein Shashṭhī is associated with Lakshmī and confounded with the goddess Śrī. For the original text, see P.K Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya* (Varanasi, 1967), p. 103.
44. *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Loka-dharma*, p. 67.
45. *Kāśyapa-samhitā*, Bālagrahachikitsādhyāya.
46. *CAI*, pp. 77-78, Pl. VI. 6-8; *BMC, AI*, pp. 276-278, Pl. XL. 1-9.
47. *Ibid*, introduction, p. cli.
48. *Ibid*, introduction, p. cxlix. For a different reconstruction of the legend see J.N. Banerjea in *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 161-162.
48a. For other interpretations, vide *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. cxlix; *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 161-162.
49. *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. cl.
50. For a different interpretation, see *ibid*. [cf. also n. 36a above *JPS*].
50a. [cf. n. 15 above. *JPS*].
51. *Ibid*, introduction, p. cl, catalogue, p. 275, Pl. XL. 12. [Allan styles an object or symbol as 'temple' (p. cl.) and as a 'building' (p. 275) in front of the deer. But it looks more like a symbol than a building. *JPS*.]
52. Vishṇu is, however, figured on some Pañchāla and Kushāṇa coins.
53. *CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 15; *BMC, AI*, catalogue, p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5.
54. *CAI*, p. 70; *BMC, AI*, p. 281.
54a. Reference in this connection must be made to the discovery of some Vṛishṇi sealings which bear, among others, conch-shell, wheel and mace which are connected with Vāsudeva-Kṛishna and pestle (*musala*), one of the cognisances of his brother Baladeva. Vide *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 95ff.
55. *CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 14; *BMC, AI*, catalogue, p. 158, Pl. XVI. 4. Allan thinks that the wheel probably represents an elaborate *dharma-chakra*. Vide *ibid*, introduction, p. c.
56. *CAI*, p. 70.

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57. Allan doubtfully describes it as *lingam*.
58. *CAI*, pl. VIII. 20; *BMC, AI*, pp. lxxxii, 121, Pl. XIV.10; *CCIM*, I, p. 167, no. 1 (here it is described as on obverse).
58a. *BMC, AI*, introduction, p. lxxxii, Pls. XXIV-XXV.
59. *CAI*, p. 72, Pl. V. 1-3; *BMC, AI*, pp. 159-167, Pls. XXII-XXIII. 1-10; *CCIM*, I, 167-169, Pl. XX. 11-12.
60. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 134.
61. *BMC, AI*, pp. cxxii-cxxiii, 210-212, Pl. XXIX. 11-23.
62. For instances of the representation of Lakshmī on the Local coins see my paper in *Seminar Papers on Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 79-80.
63. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhita of Varāhamihira*, pp. 119-123.
64. I am indebted to Prof. K. D. Bajpai for this suggestion.
65. *CAI*, pp. 67-68; *BMC, AI*, p. 124, no. 21, Pl. XIV. 14.
66. *CAI*, p. 67, where the figure is described as Śiva.
67. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Purāṇa*, VII (ii), pp. 362-66; K. K. Dasgupta, *ibid*, VII (i), pp. 186-90; *The Audumbaras*, pp. 6-7.
68. Cunningham actually doubtfully described it as '*Udumbara*, fig-tree'. Vide *CAI*, p. 68.

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VII

GODS AND GODDESSES ON TRIBAL COINS

P. K. Agrawala

Here in this short paper, I do not propose to make any attempt for any comprehensive study of the representations of deities on the early Tribal coinages of India. It is just to bring out some general features of the problem and a brief discussion on certain observations made by previous scholars in this context.

Let us first underline the well known fact that the representations of human figure or deities were hardly given place of any significance in the types of the earliest known coinage of the country, i. e. the punch-marked issues. It is a variety of combinations of different symbols and patterns that form the obverse and reverse devices of these coins. Animal and bird designs are also utilised with much frequency. But the occurrence of human figure is few and far between on the punch-marked series.

There are only five or six types of human or deity figures seen in the punch-marked coins.[1] But noteworthy is the fact that all of them appear to continue or to be adapted in the devices of the tribal and local coins. Or in other words, we may say that it will not be incorrect to understand that the types of human depiction, shown, though scarcely, on the punch-marked issues, probably served as the relevant devices in the numismatic tradition followed by the subsequent tribal coinage.

Of them the most remarkable is a standing human figure, presumably a deity, carrying a pot-like object and a staff in his two hands and a crest-like thing on head. A figure identical to this is found on the copper coins attributed to Ujjayini. Allan thinks that 'this enables us to identify the figure as Kārttikeya, who appears six-headed on

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some coins of Ujjayini and may therefore be recognised in the other forms in which he appears there.'[2] Banerjea identifies it as Śiva, because he sees better possibilities for all other Ujjayini depictions as being that of Śiva Mahākāla.[3] Motichandra also thinks that the human figure, holding a staff and a pot is Śiva, since the flask and staff are connected with Śiva in literature and iconography.[4] This human figure found on certain punch-marked issues and on Allan's Class II, var. *f* & *g* of Ujjayini coins, standing facing left or right, invariably holds in his left hand a staff and in the right a thing resembling vase or purse. It may be a shield. The other remarkable feature is the crest-like thing on the head. No scholar has taken cognisance of it uptil now, though it is a peculiar feature of the representation and helps the correct identification. It can easily be recognised as the crest of a warriors's helmet, thus indicative of identity of the figure as warrior or the war-god Skanda.

Ujjayini coins which depict this deity in profile in the fashion as in punch-marked coins thus appear to be earlier than the tribal coins from this place. On some other Ujjayini coin we have a more evolved representation of this deity shown frontally. It has been described as a deity standing facing, holding spear in r. and uncertain bag-like object in l. Allan identifies him as Kārttikeya since it holds a spear.

The next step in the evolution of this human figure-type is seen in the representation of deity figure on certain Ujjayini coins but now with three heads. Allan thinks the three heads partially representing the six heads of Kārttikeya though he also admits the possibility of its being Mahākala-Śiva. The absence of any Śaiva symbol like trident etc. and the presence of only two arms led him to conclude it as Skanda. Banerjea, however, controverts this identification. So far as the identification of the deity with a trident but not noted as such by Banerjea,[5] standing by the side of a bull is concerned, there can be no two opinions that it is

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Śiva. But on the basis of this evidence he is not justified to recognise all the deity-figures on Ujjayini coins as Śiva-Mahākala. Thus we may note here that though the tradition associated with a place may be of some help as to the identity of the deity or deities appearing on coins of that locality, but it will be only misleading if adopted as a sure guide. Secondly, the known or somewhat clear identification of a deity-figure on one class of coinage may be prima facie of some suggestivity, but that only should not be our basis for identifying other types of deity-figures on the allied coins as representing the same deity, despite all the dissimilarities of attributes and forms in their depiction.

A similar standing figure holding a spear in right hand, identified by Allan as Kārttikeya or simply a warrior, is found on the coins of the Audumbaras and on one of the Kāḍa coin pieces. It is interesting to note that one Audumbara king of these coins is Ajamita and if we have an allusion in his name to Āryā, the goddess-mother of Karttikeya-Skanda, then this deity with spear or śakti may be Śaktidhara Skanda.

Of the entire bulk of the known tribal and local coinage, we have only a few cases wherein the god represented is named in the coin-legend and there can be hardly any doubt as to his identity. First instance is provided by the coins of one Audumbara chief Dharaghosha. On the obverse we have a standing figure, with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm, a top-knot over his head, and upper body bare. In front is the legend in Kharoshṭhī reading *Viśpamitra.*[6] On the reverse appears a trident with axe attached to it and a tree in enclosure. Here the figure is to be identified without hesitation, as is done by Allan, as showing the well known sage *Viśvāmitra* as the deity to whom this Audumbara chief owed religious allegiance.

Here we have one example which warns us against other hypothesis usually adopted by us in identifying deities on coins. Let me elaborate it. Some authors have given

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much value to the name of the issuer as alluding the identity of the deity accepted by him on his coins. This may be of help in some cases where other evidence is corroborative. But it can hardly be taken as a surer guide. If we were to identify the Viśvāmitra figure merely on the indication of the name of the issuer Dharaghosha, we certainly would have arrived at a wrong identification.

But a correspondence between the names of the issuers and the deities appears to be of some significance in certain cases and can hardly be rejected as a mere coincidence. Some rulers might have had this idea in their mind while accepting the deity for their coin devices. This particularly appears to be the case with the Pañchāla princes, since beside deities corresponding to the ruler's name, they show such symbols that allude to the deity whose name forms part of the name of the king, e. g. Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra. In case of the issues of Agnimitra the male figure with flaming hair or flames on head, the king's name certainly indicates the deity. But similar cannot be the case of Bhūmimitra's coins where the same deity appears but with no suggestion to *his* name in the name of the issuer. We may remark that it is not the name of the ruler and the deity accepted by him on the coins that is important but it is mostly the numismatic tradition or convention that would have suggested the depiction of a deity on a particular coin series in a particular area. Thus regional local-tribal affinity of a particular deity appearing on the coins of that tribe or locality is also an important factor to be worked out.

For the Yaudheya coins which popularly portray Kārttikeya in his several forms we have possibly all sorts of corroborative evidence from the coin-legends as well as iconographic and literary traditions. The other instance is of the figure of Abhisheka Lakshmī that forms the main type of the Mathura coinage, issued by both Indian and Śaka rulers.

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Among female figures, the most important is the goddess Lakshmī who occurs very popularly on the tribal coins of almost every region known to us. Her iconography on early coins and reliefs was thoroughly analysed and identified by Coomaraswamy and Banerjea. On coins she occurs mostly in two forms, one of Abhisheka aspect, the other standing on lotus and holding lotus.

Here we wish to make only one important observation. Beside other things we may look for a correspondence, if any, between the male and female deities appearing on the obverse and reverse sides respectively of a coin type. In many cases, mostly in later series of tribal coins, we have a god on one side and a goddess on the other. In our study on *Skanda-Kārttikeya* we have discussed the correspondence between the six-headed or Shaṇmukha Skanda and the six headed or Shaṇmukhī Shaṣṭhī-Devasenā seen on two sides of certain Yaudheya coins. We also suggested that the single-headed goddess standing on lotus and usually identified with Lakshmī on the Yaudheya coins may be taken, as corresponding to Skanda on the obverse not mere Lakshmī but Lakshmī-Devasenā, the female counterpart of god Skanda, described in the epics. This may be viewed in the light of the fact that it was only by the Kushāṇa period that specific female counterparts of male deities were evolved in Indian iconography. The common Śrī-Lakshmī figure might have suggested the beginning of this iconographic process in the light of different deities appearing on the corresponding other side of the coin, and it was in a later stage that differentiating attributes of those goddesses were evolved.

References

1. See Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. XXXVI.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *DHI*, p. 117.
4. *JNSI*, XVI, p. 8.
5. *DHI*, p. 141.
6. *BMC, AI*, PL. XIV. 14.

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VIII

THE SVASTIKA SYMBOL ON THE TRIBAL COINS

BIRENDRA PRATAP

The aim of writing this short note is to draw the attention of scholars to the *svastika* symbol occurring commonly both on pottery and tribal coins and to trace its source, from which it has been derived on the latter. The excavations at various sites have brought to light many tribal coins bearing *svastika* symbol. Among them mention may by made of "two tribal Ujjayini coins datable to *Circa* second-first century B. C." from Prakash,[1] a few die-struck uninscribed coins from Nevasa[2] and 27 similar coins from Maheshwar[3] (25) and Navdatoli (2) bearing *svastika* symbol are noteworthy. Stratigraphically a few such coins are obtained from the late levels of N. B. P.

The occurrence of this important symbol may even be traced to Harappan times, both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The representation of the same in the post-Harappan chalcolithic Cultures has been traced on Red Ware of the site of Navdatoli[4] and Rangpur[5] etc. Its representation in the form of painting on the Grey Ware pottery belonging to P. G. W.[6] Culture in Doab is notable which recalls similar symbol available on the tribal coins.

Its complete absence on the pottery of the succeeding culture, particularly on the Northern Black Polished and its associated Ware needs special mention. On the other hand the presence of *svastika* symbol on the terracotta discs belonging to the N. B. P. Ware period is indeed significant. These *svastika* discs come practically from all the levels of N. B. P. as evidenced at Rajghat,[7] Prahladpur,[8] Sravasti[9] and Hastinapura[10] excavations. Such discs having the said symbol possibly served as the main link between the P. G. W. phase and the tribal coins.

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Significantly the occurrence of punch-marked coins also coincides with the emergence of N. B. P. Ware and on stratigraphical ground too the former is reported no where in the pre-N. B. P. Ware strata. Similar symbol is found on these coins as well. A comparative study of *svastika* symbol depicted on the painted Grey Ware and the terra-cotta discs bearing the same motif assignable to N. B. P. Ware level leads to a discussion of relationship between the P. G. W. and N. B. P. Ware as it can also be confirmed by the study of other cultural assemblage too. The close similarity in the form of the symbol enables us to suggest that the idea was gradually transformed on these discs from the preceding P. G. W. Culture indicating their possible religious significance. Later on the same was borrowed from these discs and represented first on the punch-marked coins and afterward became the common symbol on the 'tribal coins.'

Thus we can tentatively assume on the basis of the available evidence that the notable *svastika* symbol which occurs in the P. G. W. Culture was adopted on the tribal coins from these *svastika* discs and punch-marked coins.

The striking similarity between the *svastika* symbol represented on the P. G. W., terracotta discs, and tribal coins can not be dismissed merely as accidental, it has to be traced back in time suggesting that it has been copied from similar earlier depictions Its representation can not be taken as artists own creation depicting a particular motif without any significance.

References

1. Thapar, B.K., Prakash 1955, A Chalcolithic site in the Tapti Valley, *AI*, 20 and 21, 1964 and 1965, p. 24, pl. XXVII, C. [The coins referred to in this paper as tribal coins are all local coins. This does not, however, mean that tribal coins do not contain depictions of this symbol. Among the coins of the ancient Indian tribes, those of the Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Śibis, Uddehikas, Vemakis and the Yaudheyas etc. contain this symbol, sometimes in slightly different forms. The most

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significant of these is perhaps the form of the symbol depicted on the coins of the Śibis. On the coins of this tribe, all the arms of the symbol are surmouted by a taurine symbol. This Śibi-*Svastika*, is strangely enough, also noticed on the reverse of a class of Ujjayini coins (cf. *BMC, AI*, p. cxliii). It is interesting to note in this connection that some coins of the Pāradas—a foreign people—also contain this symbol (cf. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Paradas*, Pl II. 3-8) *JPS*.]

2. Sankalia, H D , and others, *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, Poona, 1960, pp. 165, 197.
3. Sankalia, H. D., and others, *The Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1952-53, Poona, 1958, p. 67.
4. Lal, B B., *AI*, 16, p. 12, Pl. XIII. 5.
5. *Ibid*, Pl. XIV.
6. Lal, B.B. Excavations at Hastinapur and other exploration in the upper Ganga and Sultej Basin 1950-52, *AI*, 10-11, p. 88, Pl. XLVI, 3.
7. On my own observation.
8. Narain, A K., and Roy, T.N., *The Excavations at Prahladpur*, pp. 53 54, Pl. XXI. 9, 10.
9. Sinha, K.K., *Excavations at Sravasti*, p. 58, Pl. XVIII. 9.
10. Lal, B.B., *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig. 10, 64; Pl. XXIX, 4.

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IX

SOME SYNCRETIC GLEANINGS FROM THE COINS OF THE KUNINDAS AND THE YAUDHEYAS

O. P. Singh

Though there has been much discussion about the icons on the tribal coins, yet a few suggestions may still be advanced regarding their religious significance. We propose to discuss here some devices noticed on the coins of the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas.

I

On the obverse of the silver coins of Amoghbhuti, we notice a female figure, standing on lotus, facing, holding lotus flower in the uplifted right hand and the figure of deer to right. *Śrī-vatsa* symbol is depicted between the horns of the animal.[1] Banerjea has drawn attention to the first verse of the *Śrī-Sūkta* of the *Ṛigveda* which refers to Lakshmī as a golden-coloured deer.[2] Here the goddess, seems to have been depicted in anthropomorphic as well as in theriomorphic form.[3] The occurence of the *Śrī-vatsa* symbol between the horns of the animal makes the device interesting. On the basis of her association with the *Srī-vatsa* symbol, the goddess may be identified as Vaishṇavī Lakshmī.

The coins of the Kuṇindas of another class depict a deer to l., and the *Śrī-vatsa* between its horns on their reverse.[4] The obverse of these coins shows the figure of Śiva along with the legend *Bhagavata Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ*.[5] The figure of the deer on these coins probably stands for Lakshmī[6] and the *Śrī-vatsa* symbol reflects Vaishṇava influence. Thus the obverse and the reverse devices of these coins taken together, probably show their syncretic character.

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II

The reverse of the coins of Class 6, of the Yaudheyas, shows the figure of the goddess alongwith a conch and the *Śrī-vatsa* symbol. The association of these symbols suggests that she may be taken as Vaishṇavi-Lakshmī. On the obverse of the Yaudheya coins of the same class, however, we notice the figure of Kārttikeya, the presiding deity of the Yaudheyas. It provides some indication of the cult of Kārttikeya with Vaishṇava features.

References

1. *BMC, AI,* Pl. XXII. 1, 2, etc. Allan regarded it as 'the cobra symbol'. See also *JNSI,* XXII, p. 45.
2. *Hiraṇyavarṇām hariṇām suvarṇarajatasrajām /*
   Chandrām hiraṇmayīm Lakshmīm Jātavedo-mamāvaha //
   'the moon (like) golden (goddess) Lakshmī who is a golden coloured deer (adorned with) gold and silver garlands'; Vide *JNSI,* XXII, p. 45.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *BMC, AI,* Pl. XXII. 12.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See fn. 2 above.

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X

THE RELIGIOUS LEANINGS OF THE TRIBAL REPUBLICS

J. P. SINGH

The tribal republics occupy a very unique position in the great mosaic of politico-cultural history of India. Even though, these tribal republics at times, figure in the literary traditions, yet these occassional literary notices cannot be considered adequate. Inscriptional evidence, about them, too is scarce. It is, in this light that the evidence of their coins assumes considerable significance. It is true, as compared to the literary and epigraphic notices, that the testimony of their coins, accounts for most of the evidence, regarding their political and cultural life.

By their very nature, these republics formed a close knit political and social unit. In the religious sphere as well uniformity must have prevailed. Since the coins are directly associated with the tribes concerned, their evidence with regard to their religious leanings perhaps cannot be doubted. It is on this presumption that the present study is undertaken.

In the following pages we have attempted to discuss the religious leanings of the main tribal republics, that are known both from literary and archaeological sources. This partiality is perhaps also due to the fact that some of these republics were in the main current of the political developments of the time.

1. Agras

The Agras are a tribe of Punjab, and may have occupied the region round the village Agroha, from whence most of their coins are found (cf. *MASI*, 61, p. 5; cf. also *BMC, AI*, pp. clvii-viii). Their coins contain a tree-in-railing on

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obverse and a bull to r. on the reverse on most coins. The bull is, however, replaced by a lion on some coins. Others show a composite animal with the head of an owl (?) and the body of a bull on the reverse. Another type shows Lakshmī standing holding a lotus in l. hand on the reverse.

The tree-in-railing and the bull is found on the coins of other tribes as well, and may be taken to indicate that the Agras were worshippers of Śiva. The depiction of Lakshmī is another feature of their religious life and shows with other symbols that they followed the Brahmanical sacrificial religion.

2. Audumbaras

The coins of the Audumbaras[1] show that they were Saivites. The coins of the Audumbara chiefs, namely Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, as well as their names, are clear indications of their faith in Saivism. The reverse of the coins of Śivadāsa shows a temple with a trident with axe on its right. The coins of the next king Rudradāsa repeat the same device. Those of the next chief Dharaghosha contain a bearded human figure 'standing facing with r. hand raised' labelled *Viśpamitra* in Kharoshṭhī letters on the obverse and trident with battle axe on r.; tree in enclosure on l. on the reverse. The coins of the now controversial king Mahādeva, in some cases, contain a humped bull to r. or l. on the obverse, and an elephant with trident on the reverse. Other coins show the temple with trident-battle axe on the reverse and a tree in enclosure with the forepart of an elephant to l.[2] on the obverse. This is also the obverse device of the coins of Śivādasa and Rudradāsa minus an undulating line below. This shows that the *bhagavatamahadevasa rajaraña* bearing coins cannot be separated[3] from the coins of the Audumbara chiefs merely on the basis of the omission of the name of the tribe in the legend. Typological similarities apart, the use of Mahādeva in the legend on these coins, which is not met with on coins of any other

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tribe or locality, brings these coins in line with those of the Audumbaras.

The obverse and reverse devices of these coins clearly indicate the Saivite leaning of the Audumbaras. The humped bull seems to be identical with Nandī, the *vāhana* of Śiva, and the trident, and trident-battle axe are His attributes. Some of these coins also contain a Śaiva temple.[4] The identification of the temple as that of Śiva is suggested by the trident and trident-battle axe. The scene shows a *dhvaja* also. Among the coin legends of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, the word *mahādeva* is found as part of the inscription. As Mahādeva is also the name of Śiva one may be inclined to interpret the legend in a like manner. In fact, S. K. Chakrabortty with reference to the legend on Viśpamitra coin type, rendered the full legend in English to mean "of Dharaghosha, the worshipper of Mahādeva, i. e. Mahādeva of the Audumbaras."[5] Allan took it to be a 'regal tittle.'[6] Elsewhere we have shown that mahādeva in this context "is the counterpart of mahāraja and possibly the members of the Audumbara Central Assembly were designated as *devas* instead of Rājās." Therefore, it can safely and correctly be held that the chief or Head of their Assembly was called *Mahādeva*.[7] Thus, it becomes clear that the word *Mahādeva* in the coin legends of the Audumbaras has no sectarian meaning.

The standing figure of Viśpamitra identified with Śiva by Cunningham[8] was a mistake. Allan took the figure as that of Viśvāmitra stating that his "connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown."[9] According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the wife of Gādhi embraced a fig (or Udumbara) tree in order to give birth to Viśvāmitra.[10] This tradition is met with thrice in the *Mahābhārata*[11] also. The reverse of the coins with Viśpamitra-obverse, bears a trident-battle axe, but possibly the identification of the human figure with Śiva on the basis of the latter's attributes on the other side of the coin is not very plausible. Viśpamitra under the circumstances can only be taken as the sage

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Viśvāmitra.[12] According to one view Viśvāmitra was the National god of the Audumbaras,[13] or 'their patron saint.'[14] But if the identification of the tree in enclosure on the coins of this tribe, be accepted as the *Udumbara* tree, as it seems to be the case now,[15] we feel on this basis that the Audumbaras traced their origin from the fig or Udumbara tree and regarded Viśvāmitra as one of their remote ancestors, and may have even worshipped him. It seems, however, that Viśvāmitra was not the presiding deity of the tribe. It was certainly Śiva, whose temple and attributes are portrayed on the coins of the tribe. It is possible, perhaps to assume that the *Bhagvata mahadevasa* coins are of a commemorative nature,[16] and were issued in all probability by the Audumbaras, to honour their god Śiva or Mahādeva.

Thus it becomes quite clear from the foregoing discussion that the Audumbaras followed the Brahmanical sacrificial religion, as they claimed to have originated from the sage Viśvāmitra; Saivism perhaps, was the offlcial faith of the tribe.

The coins of the successors of the Audumbaras do not contain any important material with regard to their religion. The obverse of some of these coins shows a male figure standing to l. and holding a spear in r. hand. This obverse type is found on the coins of Āryamitra, Mahīmitra and Mahābhūtimitra.[2] The obverse type of Bhānumitra is a repetition of the reverse of the remaining kings showing elephant and tree. The obverse figure may be identified with Kārttikeya, as it is shown holding a spear. On the basis of this suggestion we can possibly say that the Audumbaramitras were worshippers of Kārttikeya. The names of the kings of this dynasty, however, is also indicative of their Brahmanical leanings.

3. Ārjunāyanas

The Ārjunāyanas are located "within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra." Their coins are dated around 100

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B. C. Their earliest mention is found in a commentary on Pāṇini[19] They are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a frontier people. It is often suggested that the Ārjunāyanas claimed their descent from either Arjuna[20], the Pāṇḍava prince or the Haihaya king of that name.[21]

The coins of the Ārjunāyanas are known in three varieties. The obverse of all these coins shows the figure of a bull with or without any other symbols. The reverse of var. *a* shows a female (?) figure standing between a form of *lingam* and a tree in railing, whereas the same side of var. *b* shows a bull standing before a *lingam.*[22] The female figure on the basis of its similarity with Lakshmī on the coins of Mathura can be said to be the same deity.[23] Lakshmī, however, is a Vaishṇava goddess, being the wife of Lord Vishṇu. But the representation of Lakshmī on coins suggests her independent cult as the goddess of wealth. As the majority of the Ārjunāyana coins contain the figure of bull and a form of *lingam,* at times separately and at times together, it can safely be held that the Ārjunāyanas were Saivites and worshipped Śiva in the form of *linga.* The existence of Lakshmī, the figures of bull and *linga,*[24] as well as their association with the Paṇḍava prince Arjuna amply prove that the tribe favoured and patronized the Brahmanical religions particularly Saivism.

4. Kulūtas

A coin of the Kulūta king Vīrayaśa only was known earlier. It was dated to about 100 A. D. The obverse of the coin shows a wheel surrounded by a circle of dots whereas its reverse shows a mountain with a river below, a *svastika* and a nāga symbol on its sides, and a nandipada above it.[25] Allan takes the obverse wheel to be "an elaborate *dharma-chakra*", which may suggest that the Kulūtas at least under Vīrayaśa were Buddhists. It can also be said that it was possibly their non-Brāhmaṇa attitude which inspired the author of *Mudrārākshasa* to brand them as *mlechchhas.*[26] They

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are referred to in literature, at times with foreign peoples like (*Mbh.* VI.9.66) the Yavanas, Chīnas, Kāmbojas etc. Their mention with peoples who followed religions other than Brahmanism, possibly indirectly, suggests the Buddhist nature of their kingship. It appears therefore, that the Kulūtas may have favoured Buddhism as against other religions particularly Hinduism. The coins of the other Kulūta kings[27] do not contain anything that may be helpful to determine their religious beliefs with certainty.

5. Kuṇindas

The tribal republic of the Kuṇindas is located in the "narrow strip of land at the foot of Siwalik hills between the Jumnā and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej."[28] Varāhamihira placed them in the north-east division along with the Kulūtas etc. and refers to a king of the tribe.[29] The Kuṇinda coins are classified in two groups, one of which was "issued about the end of the first century B. C. and the other about three centuries later."[30]

The coins of var. *a* are all the issues of a chief called Amoghabhūti. The obverse of these coins usually contains a female figure (Lakshmī ?) standing, sometimes on lotus holding a lotus flower in her raised r. hand, accompanied by a deer above whose horns is a nāga symbol and two other symbols. Its reverse shows a combination of some symbols.[31] The later coins of the other variety show a male figure (Śiva), standing holding a trident-battle axe in r. hand. It reverse shows a deer with the same nāga symbol above its horns and a few other symbols. The obverse legend of these coins is *Bhagavata chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ.*

The Lakshmī with deer or stag, found on the early Kuṇinda coins has been discussed by J. N. Banerjea. It was pointed out by S. V. Venkatesvara.[32] that "in the latest *(Khila)* Vedic texts we have the goddess Śrī represented as a golden antelope adorned with garlands of silver and gold". Banerjea says that it is possible that the Dear-Lakshmī device

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of Kuṇinda coins presents "both the human and animal forms of the goddess."[33] But, we think that the same deity can not normally be represented in two different forms on a single coin, as it amounts to an unnecessary duplication.

There is no doubt regarding the identification of the deity on the later coins of the Kuṇindas holding a trident-battle-axe. He is definitely Śiva. Banerjea held that "the tribal state of the Kuṇindas at one time was dedicated to the lord Śiva in the 2nd century A.D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of a sovereign ruler (the title Chhatreśvara is significant)."[34] There is no evidence in support of this hypothesis as we have shown elsewhere.[35] It seems, however, that the Kuṇindas issued these coins as commemorative issues probably "to thank their god and to mark their independence" which they must have considered was due to the grace of Śiva.[36]

It appears from the above discussion that the Kuṇindas like most other republican tribes professed Saivism. The Buddhist work *Mahāmāyūrī* (verse 82), however, states that Yaksha Ushṭrapāda "was the special object of worship in the land of the Kuṇindas." The term is indicative of a human or animal being with the feet of a camel. Referring to the deer on Kuṇinda coins Banerjea says that "if we recognise the Yaksha Ushṭrapāda in the animal represented on the Kuṇinda coins, then the attendant female figure alone may stand for Lakshmī."[37] Even if the identification suggested is not accepted[38] the evidence of *Mahāmāyūrī* provides an additional information that the tribe worshipped even the Yakshas. We are not in a position to say anything with certainty about the non-Brahmanical religious affiliations of the Kuṇindas. Being associated with the Kushāṇas.[39] however, they may have grown fairly tolerant under their influence.

6. Mālavas

The Mālavas are a fairly well known people. During Alexander's invasion the Malloi inhabited upper Punjab in

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the valley of the Ravi. Then in confederation with the Kshudrakas, who lived in the region round about Montgomery district, the Mālavas resisted Alexander, but were defeated by the latter. *Mahābhārata* also implies their confederation. They are listed among the *āyudh-jīvin* people by Pāṇini. Later, however, possibly under the pressure of the Indo-Greek invasions they migrated to eastern Rajputana from where a considerable number of their coins are found. Allan dates their coins from the second to the early fourth century A. D. (*BMC, AI*, p. cvi). Sometime about the beginning of the second century A. D. the Mālavas seem to have fought with the neighbouring tribe of Uttamabhadras-inhabiting the region round Ajmer and the Śakas of western India, who are supposed to have helped the Uttamabhadras. It is also suggested that after the fall of the Kushāṇas the Mālavas extended their territory considerably.[40] The inscriptions, dated to A. D. 226, from Nandsa in Udaipur, make a reference to the return of their freedom and prosperity due to the efforts of a Mālava chief, whose name fails decipherment.[41] The Mālavas possibly also fought an internecine struggle with the Western Kshatrapas in the 3rd-4th centuries. But they were both ultimately vanquished by the Guptas.

The Mālavas are mentioned as a frontier people in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who defeated them. They are mentioned alongwith certain other republican tribes. It appears that after their defeat at the hands of Samudragupta, the Mālavas, like other tribal republics, could not retain their tribal nature and failed to maintain their political independence and individuality. It has, however, been suggested that "the Aulikaras, apparently a Mālava dynasty, flourished at Daśapura (modern Mandasor, ..) under the vassalage of the Guptas. It was probably the Aulikaras, especially the mighty Aulikara king Yaśodharman (A. D. 532), who were responsible for the name Mālava being applied to a wide region of central and western

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India,....[42]" The exact relationship between the republican tribe of the Mālavas and the later Aulikaras is by no means certain.

The Mālava coins of the class bearing *Mālavānāṃ jayaḥ* on their obverse, contain on their reverse sometimes a vase in a dotted circle and at others a "recumbent bull r. in border of dots."[43] The obverse of these coins bears a tree-in-railing with the legend. Some of the coins of Smith,[44] belonging to this class, contain a tree-in-railing or an animal – lion, with parts of the obverse legend. Their reverse shows radiate sun and another solar symbol, and snake etc. Coins of Smith's groups 2-3 have vase on reverse. The obverse of the coins of group 3 contain a tree-in-railing.[45] Group 4 has the tree or palm branch on obverse and a lion on its reverse.[46] Group 5 shows a humped bull on its reverse.[47] The bull is depicted in both sitting and standing postures. Group 6 has an obscure device in the centre on obverse and the king's head on the reverse or vase in one case.[48] The central obverse device is obscure on Group 7 also but these contain a 'peacock facing with expanded tail.'[49] Those of group 8 have tree, tree-in-railing or lotus on obverse and a solar symbol, a snake, *nandipada* or possibly a peacock on reverse in certain cases.[50]

The coins of class *b*, that is, those with unintelligible legends, supposed to be the names of foreign chiefs, contain tree-in-railing.[51] Their reverse, however, bears a lion, a humped bull, elephant etc.[52] Coins of class *c* show a peacock, vase with flowers, palm-leaf, tree-in-railing, and a bull on obverse. Their reverse contains a squatting human figure, a bull, vase, antelope etc.[53]

The coins published by Puri seem to contain similar symbols as those of Smith. Among his coins those that seem to contain new symbols are the coins bearing a trident on obverse and 'a *paraśu* (combined with a trident ?)' on the reverse. Yet another coin shows a standing male figure[54] on obverse.

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Śrīsoma, the Mālava chief who possibly led the Mālavas to independence from the Śakas is said to have celebrated the sacrifice called *Ekashashṭi c.* 226 A. D. and erected a sacrificial post to commemorate its performance. Śrīsoma traces his origin from the Ikshvākus and was from a family that led the tribe at least for three generations,[55] with Śrīsoma representing the third.

The bull, the peacock, the solar symbols, the trident-battle axe etc. on their coins as well as the Nandsa Yūpa inscription clearly indicate that the Mālavas were a Brahmanical people. However, as their coin-devices do not seem to be consistent with regard to their depictions, the particular Hindu religion they followed cannot be determined with certainty. The coin with a squatted human figure on the reverse and a peacock on the obverse indicates that the obverse figure may be a representation of Kārttikeya. The evidence of the coins though not particularly inclined towards any faith refers well to their Brahmanical affiliation. It seems that the Mālavas followed the Vedic sacrificial religion and worshipped all its important gods and believed in the teachings of its sages. This suggestion is supported by the evidence supplied by the Nandsa Yūpa incription. Herein, we propose to refer to the relevant material of the inscription.

The Nandsa Yūpa pillar inscription of the Mālava chief Śrī soma[56] contains in all three inscriptions, referred to as A, B and C. The first two inscriptions in the form available seem to be identical. The third one was inscribed by a chief called Bhaṭṭisoma, also referred to as *mahāsenāpati.* Altekar has identified this chief with Śrīsoma of the two other records and states that as the inscription C refers to a forest *āśrama* of ascetics, the purpose of its inscribing must have been to record a similar donation.[57]

It has been stated that at the end of 2nd century, a war of succession broke out for the Śaka throne of the Western Kshatrapas between Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasiṃha I.

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The Mālavas, taking opportunity of this weakening of the Śakas, asserted their independence. "A Mālava leader named Śrī (?) soma raised the standard of revolt and celebrated in *c.* 225 A. D. the *Ekashashṭi* sacrifice to proclaim the independence of his republic."[58] The inscription, however, is totally silent regarding the political achievements of the Mālavas. The erection of the *yūpa* was a part of the performance of the *Ekashashṭirāttra sattra*,[59] but the intention to commemorate the event recorded in the inscriptions, it contains, cannot be denied. The inscriptions, that record the performance of the *sattra* called *Ekashashṭirāttra*, therefore, were meant to commemorate the sacrifice more than the pillar. This 'sacrificial session', as is indicated by its name, extended for sixty one days. A list of the constituent sacrifices of the *Ekashashṭi* are thus given.[60] :

1st day	: *Prāyaṇīya* sacrifice
2nd day	: *Chaturviṃśa* sacrifice
3rd to 20th day	: Three *Abhiplava* sacrifices, each lasting for six days
21st to 26th day	: *Pṛishṭhya* sacrifice
27th to 35th day	: *Navarāttra* sacrifice
36th to 41st day	: *Pratiloma Pṛishṭhya* sacrifice.
42nd to 47th day	: *Abhiplava* sacrifice
48th day	: *Āyu* sacrifice
49th day	: *Gau* sacrifice
50th to 59th day	: *Daśarāttra* sacrifice
60th day	: *Mahāvrata* sacrifice
61st day	: *Udāyanīya* sacrifice

The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrautasūtras* refer to several details connected with each of all these sacrifices.[61]

The Mālavas being Kshattriyas could not perform a *sattra*. *Sattras* according to the texts, were to be "performed only by Brāhmaṇas." Thus, it is said that Śrī soma didn't perform it himself "but caused it to be performed."[62] It is further said that "not less than 17 Brāhmaṇas are required for a *sattra*; they are both *ṛitviks* (priests) and *yajamānas*

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(sacrificers)." As only Brāhmaṇas were allowed to perform the sacrifice, the Mālava chief got it performed by Brāhmaṇas on his behalf.[63]

The inscription shows that Śrī Soma gave away several hundreds of thousands of cows as fee,[64] possibly to the Brāhmaṇas that performed the sacrifice and may be to others also. This statement shows the donor aspect of Śrī Soma. As a ruling king or rather a republican chief he states to have "formed a continuous (i. e., standing) resolution to follow the footsteps of the ancient royal sages in connection with the full protection of his subjects, the (construction of) white (i. e., splendid) assembly halls and rest houses, (the digging of) wells and tanks, (the erection of) temples, (the grant of) gifts at sacrifices, and (the telling of) truth." He further states that by doing all this he had left no room for sin. Śrī Soma is further said to have provided space (site or land) to the temples (or establishments) of Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati, the great sages, and Vishṇu.[66]

It may be concluded from the evidence of this inscription that the Mālavas were staunch followers of the Vedic religion. They provided for the temples etc. of Brahmanical divinities, sages, and may have even constructed some temples for them. Besides the resolve of their chief to rule in accordance with the teachings of the ancient royal sages, and about the full protection of his subjects, is a further evidence to show that the Mālavas tried to put the Brahmanical political theories into practice. The duties of the king include the protection of his subjects from external and internal troubles, the maintainence of *varṇa* and *āsrama;* providing sages and ascetics; the construction of rest houses, wells, tanks and temples all of which are listed in the inscription.

7. Rājanyas

The Rājanyas are located in the region of modern Hoshiarpur district of Punjab.[67] Varāhamihira[68] locates

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them in north with the Yaudheyas and the Trigartas, and they are often "identified with the Kathaioi of the Greeks."[69] They are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[70] Their coins bearing "Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may be put in the second century B. C., and those with Brāhmī in the 1st Century B. C."[71] Their common coins contain Lakshmī standing holding lotus in r. hand on obverse and a bull in a rayed disc on the reverse. A rare type of their coin bears a tree-in-railing on obverse. One of their types, however, contains on its obverse a *stūpa* according to Allan.[72] But it looks more like a temple, as found on the Audumbara coins, though it is not as clear. The attributes etc., if any accompanying the temple, are not clear. However, the existence of the bull on the other coins of the series, we feel, is enough indication of the Rājanyas being Saivites and the temple being the representation of a Śaiva shrine.

The identification of the female figure on the obverse of the majority of their coins with Lakshmī is taken as an established fact.[73] All these points are in favour of the Rājanyas being a people that followed Brahmanical religions.

8. Śibis

The Śibis are identified with the Sibae (Siboi) of the western classical sources. It is suggested that their capital was Śibipura (modern Shorkot) in the Jhang district of Punjab.[74] The Śibis were in all probability inhabiting this region of Punjab during the invasion of Alexander. Some scholars are doubtful about the precise location of the tribe in Punjab[75] in the fourth century B. C. Later, however, the Śibis seem to have migrated to Rajaputana and settled around Mādhyamikā near Chittor. Their coins dated in the second century B. C.[76] are usually reported from this region and are struck in the name of the tribe. Mādhyamikā was their capital in Rajputana.

The Śibis are probably identical with the Śivas of the *Ṛigveda*.[77] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Amitratāpana,

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a Śibi king. "*Ṛigveda* X. 179, has been ascribed by the *Anukramaṇī* to Śibi *Auśīnara*".[78] It seems that the Śibis and the Uśinaras were intimately related to each other.[79] The traditional accounts of history refer to Uśīnara, an Ānava prince, who founded a kingdom "on the eastern border of Punjab, which was divided among his five sons. Śibi succeeded to the throne at Multan,....Śibi Auśīnara, however, was the most prominent among Uśinaras sons, and the Śibis sprang from him. Śibi conquered practically the whole of Punjab except the north-west corner, and established through his sons four kingdoms of (1) The Vrishadarbhas, also known as Śibis, in the home territories of Multan, (2) Sauvīras in Sind, (3) the Kekayas in the modern district of Gujarat and Shahpur between the Jhelluin and the Chenab, and (4) the Madrakas, with their capital at Sakala...."[80]

The coins of the Śibis do not provide any definite clue with regard to their religion. S. K. Chakrabortty, however, recognised on the obverse of a Śibi coin 'the upper part of a Triśūla.'[81] Literature, however, gives some relevant information on the basis of which an idea of their religion can be formed. The *Sibi-jātaka*[82] contains the story of the flesh-gift by a Śibi king. This king is said to have been the Buddha in one of his previous births. The evidence of the Jātaka may be taken to show that the Śibis were Buddhists. But a conjecture like this is purely hypotehtical. We feel that the story about the Śibi king must have already been current when it was used by the Buddhists to teach the principles of their Order among the people through the media of popular tales. The Brahmanical references of the tribe do not refer to them as infidels. "The Sibae are described by.....classical writers as dressed in animal skins, having clubs for their weapons, and branding with the mark of a club their oxen and mules."[83] He further states that Pāṇini (IV.1.112) seems to have referred to them as the worshippers of Śiva.[84] *Mahābhāshya* contains "one of the earliest clear reference to a Śaiva sect .. While commenting on Pāṇini's Sūtra, V.2.36 *(āyaḥśuladaṇḍajinabhayaṃ ṭhakṭhanau)*,

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Patañjali mentions the Śiva-bhāgavatas who carried an iron lance (*ayaḥśūlikaḥ*).... Though the commentator does not comment on the term *daṇḍajina* in the Sūtra, it is apparent that a staff (*daṇḍa*) and a hide (*ajina*) were also the characteristic marks of a Śiva-bhāgavata who was an *ayaḥśūlika* and at the same time a *daṇḍājinika*." These characteristics of the Śiva-bhāgavatas are comparable to those of the Sibae as mentioned already which shows "the religious association of this Punjab tribe with Śiva appears to be substantiated by Patañjali who, while commenting on the Vārttikas on Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 2. 104 (*avyāt tyaḥ*) refers to the Udīchya-grāma (northern village) Śivapura or Śaivapura."[85] *Mahāmāyūrī*, a Buddhist work of about fourth century mentions the "tutelery deity of the *āhāra* (district town) of Śivapura as Śiva."[86] Śivapura of *Mahāmāyūrī* was identified by Sylvain Levi[87] with Udīchyagrāma mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.

The identification of the Śibis with Śiva-bhāgavatas may find confirmation in the fact that Patañjali knew about the Śibis of Mādhyamikā,[88] for he refers to a seige of the city by the Greeks. The identification, however, clearly indicates that the Śibis were a Brahmanical tribe and followed Saivism almost as a state religion.

9. Vṛishṇis

Traditionally the Vṛishṇis were connected with the Yādavas. It is known from literature that the Yādava king Bhīma Sātvata had four sons Bhajamāna, Devavṛidha, Andhaka and Vṛishṇi. The descentants of Bhajamāna failed to distinguish themselves. From Devavṛidha sprang the Bhojas of Marttikāvata. Andhaka had four sons but only Kukura and Bhajamāna are important. Kukuras are the descendents of Kukura and those of Bhajamāna were known as Andhakas.[89] Descendants of the fourth son of Bhīma Sātvata came to be known as Vṛishṇis,

When Kṛishṇa and the Bhojas killed Kaṃsa, an ally and son-in-law of king Jarāsandha of Magadha, the latter

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attacked Mathura, the seat of the Yādavas, and forced them to migrate to Dwāraka under the leadership of Kṛishṇa.[90] It appears that these Yādava tribes had formed a confederation. But the bi-scriptual coins bearing *vṛishṇi rājanyagaṇasya tratarasya* belong to about the "Ist century B. C., presumably to the northern Punjab."[91] We do not know if other Yādava tribes too are implicitly referred to by this inscription. It is also possible that by this time the Vṛishṇis may have imposed their authority over other tribes. The obverse of the coin contains "a pillar" with "an animal, half-lion and half-elephant"[92] in front of it. The pillar is surmounted by a *nandipada*.[93] Its reverse bears an "elaborate wheel, probably to be interpreted as *Dharmachakra*."[94] But if we accept the wheel as the representation of a *dharmachakra* it will have to be argued that the Vṛishṇis had embraced Buddhism. This, however, is not confirmed and has been rejected by Banerjea. It is stated in this connection that the use of the Buddhist *dharmachakra* by the Vṛishṇis goes against the "consistent Epic and Puranic tradition" which associates the name of Vāsudeva-Kṛishna with the tribe. Thus, it seems more "probable that the *chakra* stands for the *sudarśana-chakra* of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, one of the best revered symbols among the early Pāncharātrins and the Vaishṇavas."[95] The sealings of the Vṛishṇis, found from Sunet contain the composite animal and symbols like pestle, mace, *chakra* and *śankha* which are the attributes of the tribal heros Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa.[96] This shows that the *chakra* on their coins cannot be associated with Buddhism.

The Mora well Inscription,[97] of Sodāsa from about Mathura, mentions the establishment of the statues of the Pañchavīras[89] of the Vṛihṇis in a stone shrine. These statues are mentioned as 'five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty...' The relevant inscription runs *bhāgavatām vṛishṇinām pamchavīrāṇām pratimāḥ śailadevagṛi....archādeśām śailam pamcha jvalata iva paramāvapushā* .... The record clearly denotes that the stone images of the five heros were worshipped. Banarjea[99] has identified these

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five heros with Saṃkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śāmba, and Aniruddha, who are all connected with the Vṛishṇis. "It was the images of these Vṛishṇi-vīras that were enshrined in a stone temple (*Śailadevagṛha*) by a lady named Toṣā, probably of Śaka extraction."[100] *Vāyupurāṇa*[101] mentions them as *manushyaprakriti* gods or deified human beings. They were accorded special sanctity in the Pāñcharātra cult and were considered as the four *vyūhas* of the highest god Vāsudeva.[102]

Thus it becomes clear that when the heros of the Vṛishṇis themselves were deified and being largely worshipped even by rulers and commoners of foreign origin, not to mention the natives of the land, it seems hardly possible that the Vṛishṇis may have worshipped divinities other than their own.

10. Trigartas

Ancient Trigarta corresponds to modern Jullundar, the tract between Ravi and Sutlej, in Punjab. The coin type known is dated to the 1st half of the second century B. C.[103] They were a republican people, living by the profession of arms according to Pāṇini[104] Later literature mentions them with other Punjab republics.[105] Their coins bearing *trakatajanapadasa* with 3 symbols on the reverse contain according to Allan a 'four tiered stūpa' with traces of Kharoshṭhī legend on the obverse.[106] But it too looks like a four storied temple on the analogy of other such pictorial representations. I am, extremely doubtful about its being a *stūpa*. In all probability it is also a Śaiva temple. The Trigartas may not have favoured a faith different from that of their neighbours.[107]

11. Vemakis

Only one king Rudravarman of the Vemaki tribal republic is known by his coins. An attempt has, however, been made to attribute a coin type of the Audumbaras as well to the Vemakis.[108] Typologically, however, the two

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tyyes are connected with each other.[109] The coins of Vaimaki Rudrarman are inscribed both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī bearing *vijayata-raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa.* The obverse of their silver coin shows a bull to r. with a lotus in front, whereas the reverse shows an elephant to r. with a trident-battle axe on left.[110] There is a symbol under the head of the bull which appears "to be a *chakra* or discus."[111] The outer rim of the coin is given a floral decoration.

The Vemakis are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā.* In both of them they figure along with certain tribes.[112] But their coin-types give the impression that they were neighbours of the Audumbaras.[113] The coins of Rudravarman are dated in the 1st half of the Ist century B.C. and the Vemakis are located in north-eastern Punjab in the neighbourhood of the Audumbara republic. It appears that the Vemakis too were Saivites. It becomes clear on the basis of the representation of the humped bull on one side and the trident-battle axe with elephant on the other side of the coins. Śiva uses an animal skin-elephant or tiger- as his apparel which is indicated by his epithet Kṛittivāsa.[114] I am inclined to suggest that the tradition about the *Gajāsurasṃhāra* aspect of Śiva may have been already developing in the Ist century B.C. as a result of which the elephant and the trident-battle axe are depicted together. The elephant, trident-battle axe : bull type is also the type of the Mahādeva coins. It seems to be a developed type form of the forepart of elephant with trident-battle axe on some copper coins of the Audumbaras. This further associates the type with later *gajāsurasaṃhāra* tradition connected with Śiva.

The attribution of *bhagavata mahadevasa rajaraña* coins to the Vemakis is taken to show that in a later period the "Vemakis seem to have dedicated their state to their presiding deity Mahādeva..."[115] But there is no evidence to suggest this dedication and the attribution of the coins to the Audumbaras is best suited.

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The Vaimakis were a Brahmanical people seems to be certain. *Harivaṃśa* (III, 1, 14-15) and *Brahmapurāṇa* (13, 136-37) mention a sage called Vemaka whose wife brought up the Kaurava king Ajapārśva, a great grandson of Janamejaya Pārikshita.[116] The Vaimakis, in the period to which their coins belong seem to have been particularly favouring Saivism.

12. Yaudheyas

The provenance of their coins leads to the location of the tribe in Eastern Panjab.[117] From Rohtak[118] a large number of coin moulds and their fragments have been found which show that Rohtak was possibly a mint town of the Yaudheyas. In the *Mahābhārata* the Yaudheyas are mentioned as *Rohītakas* which shows that Rohītaka was their main seat of power.

The Yaudheyas[119] are a fairly well known and powerful tribal republic of India. Pāṇini has mentioned them as living by the profession of arms. The *Mahābhārata* mentions them along with other tribes of Punjab. Their location during the invasion of Alexander is not known for certain.[120] They seem to have become independent sometime after the fall of the Mauryas which is indicated by some of their coins (of classes 1, 2, 5) assigned 'to the late second and first centuries B. C.'[121] Their other coins (classes 3 and 4) dated to 'the later second century A. D.' show a 'poor state of currency' which may be due to their confrontation with the Western Kshatrapa king Rudradāman.[122] The Junagadh inscription (A. D. 150) shows that the Yaudheyas were defeated by him.[123] The Yaudheyas in the second century A. D. were in occupation of Western Rajputana is indicated by the Bijayagadh inscription. Later, however, they may have been also under the subjugation of the Kushāṇas. But 'the fine coins of class 6, which like the seals above mentioned reveal strong Kushāṇa influence',[124] and indicate their independence from them. Later, however, somtime about the middle of the fourth century they were defeated by Samudra-

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gupta, along with several other republican tribes.[125] It is not evidenced so far that the Yaudheyas became politically independent afterwards.

The obverse and reverse of the coins of class 1 of the Yaudheyas do not contain any thing important from our view point. But the coins of class 2[126] contain a bull on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse with other symbols. Those of class 5 also show a bull on obverse but their reverse is illegible.[127] The bull is definitely identical with Nandi, the *vāhana* of Śiva. The Śaiva association of the elephant has been already pointed out.

The Yaudheya coins of class 3 struck in silver[128] and copper contain six-headed Kārttikeya standing, holding spear in r. hand with the legend *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇya yaudheya*. Its reverse shows a goddess standing on lotus. The obverse of the copper pieces of this class is the same but the legend is slightly different—*Bhagavatasvāmino Brahamaṇya-devasya Kumārasya*. The goddess occupies the reverse as usual with slight variations. Var. *b*. of these coins shows a single headed but radiate Kārttikeya.[129]

Yet another variety (*c*) shows goddess standing on obverse and a six headed Kārttikeya on the reverse standing between the two symbols as shown on coins of var. *b*. Coins of var. *d*[130] bear a six-headed Kārttikeya on obverse as before. The reverse of these pieces has a deer with certain symbols, one of which is a nāga symbol. The obv. of varieties *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*[131] is the same six-headed Kārttikeya but the change of symbols and their places on the reverse determines these varieties. Coins of var. *h* according to Allan show 'dear r. before building'[132] on their reverse. The coins of var. *i*[133] show a similar obverse but with Śiva[134] holding a trident. Its reverse shows a deer before a hill symbol surmounted by a *chattra*. Kala writing about certain copper coins of the tribe refers to fifteen coins bearing a standing male figure holding spear on obverse and a deer with 'mountain and tree-in-railing' on the reverse. These may be taken as

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another variety of class 3. The coins representing class 4[135] and bearing *Bhānuva* with a snake below on the obverse show a trident and a standard on the reverse.

The coins of the Yaudheyas, that come under class 6,[136] depict Kārttikeya standing facing holding a spear in r. hand with a peacock to l. at his l. foot on obverse, and a female deity to l. with r. hand raised. The reverse of var. *b*[137] contains a *Kalaśa* on l. and an inverted *triśūla* on r. of the deity. The reverse of var. *c*[138] bears a *śankha* on l. and a *chakra* on r. in place of the symbols of the variety preceeding to it. The deities remain the same both on the obverse and reverse as in var. *a*[139] Chronologically the seals of the Yaudheyas are grouped with coins of this class. Their seals contain the figure of the bull, the mount of Śiva.[140] The Bijayagadh stone[141] inscription of the Yaudheya Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati seems to confirm the Brahmanical attitude of the tribe.

The coins bearing *Rāvaṇasya*, attributed to the Yaudheyas, must form the 7th class of their coins. It may be suggested in this connection that the Yaudheya rulers may have assumed enough power to become a monarchy or else may have issued coins in the name of their Chief on behalf of the republic. These coins bear on obverse a 'goddess' with or without symbols and a male figure or trident, and a trident-battle axe on the reverse.[142]

It appears thus from the above noted facts that the Yaudheyas were a Brahmanical people professing Saivism. That they were believers in the Brāhmaṇa sacrificial religion can be inferred from the symbol recognised by Allan as 'a sacrificial post ? *(yūpa)* in a railing', on the coins of class 2.[143] The bull and elephant found on the obverse and reverse of these coins seem to be connected with Śiva.

Chronologically the coins of classes 3 and 4 form a group together. They also betray the Śaiva leanings of the Yaudheyas. Their main god, however, seems to have

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been Kārttikeya. On coins of class 3 he is represented both as single or six-headed holding a spear or *śakti* in one of his hands. Kārttikeya is represented on the coins of class 6 also. On these coins he is associated with his mount *mayūra* or peacock.[144] Coins of class 3 are all issued with the name of the deity. Banerjea on this basis argued and suggested that the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to Kārttikeya and accepted him as their ruler.[145] I have elsewhere argued against this suggestion.[146] It appears that these coins were "issued to honour and eulogise Kārttikeya, to whose special favour the Yaudheyas might have ascribed their independence from the Śaka servitude. These coins are thus really commemorative coins."[147]

There seem to be no difficulty in the identification of the god called Brahmaṇyadeva and Kumāra on the Yaudheya coins with the representations of the god on them with Kārttikeya. It seems that the Yaudheyas were worshippers of Kārttikeya that is why they are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as *mattamayūrakas*, and Rohītaka or Rohtak their capital, is styled as a centre of Kārttikeya worship.[148] The *Mahāmāyūrī* also mentions Kārttikeya as the presiding Yaksha (or deity) or Rohītaka.[149] A coin mentioned by Prayag Dayal[150] bears an ass. The animal seems to be associated with Kārttikeya. A four armed god in Ellora relief is flanked by two animal headed human figures, the one on the r. is goat headed and the one on l. is ass headed. These may be Skandagaṇas.[151] This coin, however, shows that the association of ass with the god is quite early. All important gods are said to have brought some sort of a present to the god (*Matsyapurāṇa*, 159.4.18). But the same cannot be said about the accompanying female deity on the reverse of these coins. Agrawala says that some Yaudheya coins contain 'on obverse the six-headed god Kārttikeya, and on reverse a corresponding goddess also with six heads'.[152] Prayag Dayal has also referred to coins with a six-headed female deity.[153] Kala also refers to a similar figure.[154]

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Agrawala[155] identifies this six-headed goddess, on the authority of *Mahābhārata*[156] with Shashṭhī or Devasenā, the wife of Skanda or Kārttikeya. But this identification has been challenged by Pandey.[157] He thinks that Devasenā and Shashṭhī were two goddesses originally, but later came to be identified. He states that the *Mahābhārata* passage, that establishes the identity of the two goddesses 'is of a later date.'[158] The Vanaparva[159] of the *Mahābhārata* refers to *Brahmaṇya* as the son of Kṛittikās. It was this association of the god with the Kṛittikās that he came to be known as Kārttikeya. Pandey substantiating his view on the basis of other textual references identifies the six headed goddess on Yaudheya coins with Kṛittikā.[160] But R. C. Agrawala[161] has emphatically argued against this view favouring the identification earlier proposed by V.S. Agrawala. It is not known if these identifications of the six-headed goddess were also meant for the single headed goddess found on a majority of coins. Further, the said scholars have not tried to elucidate the reason for putting Shashṭhī or Devasenā on some of these coins. Whereas I agree with the identification of Shashṭhī or Devasenā with the representation of the six-headed goddess on these coins, I do not favour their identity with the single-headed goddess. For if we identify the single-headed goddess also with them we will have to think that the Yaudheyas did not favour Lakshmī, the goddess who was popular with most of the republican neighbours of the Yaudheyas. The wealthy state of affairs of the Yaudheya state is indicated both by the *Mahābhārata* and their own coin legend *bahudhañke*. And this provides all the more good reason, to the Yaudheya adoption of Lakshmī for depiction on their coins. Therefore, it seems that most single headed goddesses are in fact depictions of Lakshmī. V.S. Agrawala[162] has identified Shashṭhī also with Lakshmī. The identification of the goddess with Lakshmī may also be suggested by the existence of deer on some of these coins. In the Vedic texts the goddess Śrī is mentioned as a golden antelope decorated with garlands of gold and silver.[163] It may be

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taken perhaps on the basis of this textual evidence that the Goddess of fortune was concieved in both the animal and human forms. Can we, therefore, suggest that the Yaudheya coins bear a depiction of the goddess of Fortune in both these forms ? The deer, both according to Allan[164] and Prayag Dayal[165], is shown in front of a building on some coins. The nature of the building cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge. But presumably it was a shrine of the goddess.

The next important deity on Yaudheya coins of class 3 is Śiva. However, the Śiva bearing coins are extremely rare. Allan[166] has mentioned only one coin with trident holding Śiva. Perhaps three more such depictions are known.[167] The identification of Śiva cannot be doubted. He is shown carrying a *triśūla*, his characteristic attribute. The coins of class 4 contain a snake on the obverse and a trident and standard on the reverse.[168] The reverse of the coins of var. *b* of class 6 bears a *Kalaśa* and an inverted *triśūla*.[169] Sometimes a trident, or a trident-battle axe are found on the reverse of the coins bearing *Rāvaṇasya*.[170] Śiva's mount, Nandin, is depicted on a famous seal of the Yaudheyas-bearing *yaudheyānāṃ jayamantradharāṇāṃ*.[171] The bull is also depicted on some of their early coins.

These facts clearly indicate that the Yaudheyas worshipped Śiva also. The deity may have been popular in the tribe side by side with Kārttikeya. But Śiva does not seem to have recieved as much attention as Kārttikeya on the coins of the tribe.

The var. *c* coins of class 6 contain a *śankha* and *chakra*[172] on either side of the female deity on the reverse. Both *śankha* and *chakra* are the unmistakable attributes of Vishṇu. This indicates that the Yaudheyas favoured Vaishnavism also. Thus, it appears, from an analysis of the facts discussed above, that the Yaudheyas follwoed Brahmanical religion, performed sacrifices and worshipped gods and goddesses belonging to the pantheon. The Brahmanical

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leanings of the Yaudheyas are perhaps indirectly supported by a passage of the *Mahābhārata*. It has been said in the Vanaparva that Kumāra or Kārttikeya was annointed commander, of the forces, for the welfare or protection of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas.[173] This specification of the Senāpati fits more with the Yaudheyas than with Kārttikeya, their tutelary deity, who according to the *Purāṇas* was asked to kill Tāraka, an Asura.[174] Therefore, it appears that the author of the relevant section of the *Mahābhārata* knew the Yaudheyas as protectors of the cows and the Brāhamaṇas. Hence, the deity of the tribe too was accorded these very characteristics. The protection of the cows and Brāhmaṇas is included among the duties of the king. The Yaudheyas being a ruling republican tribe, of Brahmanical persuasion, seem to have followed the dictates of the authors of *Daṇḍanīti*.[175] According to *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[176] a king who dies, recovering the lost wealth of the Brāhmaṇas performs a sacrifice. The *Mahābhārata*[177] also praises death in the process of protecting cows and the Brāhmaṇas. *Vishṇudharmottara*[178] says that there is no duty equal to a king's death on the battlefield; those who die protecting a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, a king, a friend, their own wealth and wife enter heaven like those who die preventing an intermixture of the *varṇas*. And though there is no direct corroborative evidence yet it seems that the Yaudheyas probably ruled in accordance with the rules of polity.

A religious study of the coins of the tribal republics as well as other available material shows that they were in most cases a Brahmanical peeple and must have been guided by the socio-religious principles of their faith. This does not indicate that the tribal republics patronised this faith and were opposed to the other sects. It is quite possible that these tribal republics were as tolerant as the contemporary kingships.

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References

1. For their location Cf. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVII. The location of the tribe in the 'region between the upper Sutlej and Ravi' is usually accepted. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 161, n. 4; *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 91, n. 8; *Early History of North India*, p. 43.
2. *BMC, AI*, pp. 122-125 for a description of coins of the Audumbara chiefs.
3. *JNSI*, XXVI, II, pp. 157-161; XXVII, I, pp. 87; Mrs. B. Lahiri has attributed these coins to the Vemakis, *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61 ff. This view, however, is not acceptable to me. The use of *Mahādeva*, which is a characteristic feature of the Audumubara coins, suggests that the coins with this legend cannot be attributed to any other tribe or king.
4. It was S V. Sohoni who identified the pictorial structure as a Śaiva temple (*JNSI*, IV, pp. 54-7).
5. *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 159. A. M. Shastri also takes *mahādeva* to mean 'a devotee of Mahādeva i. e. Śiva', *JNSI*, XXVII, I, p. 88. But these interpretations are not justified.
6. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXIII.
7. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 129.
8. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67 (Varanasi reprint); Banerjea also takes the Viśpamitra of Audumbara coins as Śiva, cf. *DHI*, pp. 117-8, 121, 265.
9. *BMC, AI*, p LXXXIV.
10. K.K. Dasgupta, The Purāṇas on the Audumbaras, *Purāṇa*, VII, Pt. I, pp. 186-190. cf. his book *The Audumbaras* also.
11. *Mbh.* (Gita press), Vanaparva, CXV. 20-50; Śāntiparva, XLIX, 6-30; Anuśāsanaparva, XIV; A.M. Shastri, *Purāṇa*, Vol.VII, Pt. II, pp. 362-66. cf. D.C. Sircar, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 6, n. 3 for other *Puranic* and *Mahābhārata* references of the story.
12. According to Brough (*Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, pp. 147-8, 153, 157) Udumbara was a descendant of Viśvāmitra and the founder of a *gotra* of the Kauśika group.
13. *JASB*, N.S., XLVI, pp. 50, 71.
14. *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 160.
15. *JNSI*, XXVII, I, p. 90.
16. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 129 f.
17. *BMC, AI*, pp. lxxxvi, 125-27, 287.
18. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXIII; Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 162; *Early History of North India*, p. 40.
19. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXII.

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20. Cunningham cited in *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 154.
21. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 162.
22. *BMC, AI*, p. 121.
23. *Ibid*, p. LXXXII.
24. The symbol referred to as *lingam* by Allan on these coins cannot be taken as a sacrificial post or *yūpa*, as suggested by Banerjea (*DHI*, pp. 109-110). This symbol is also found on some coins (Class II) of the Yaudheyas, on some of which the symbol is reversed (Cf. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cxlviii). Had it really been a *yūpa* its direction could not have perhaps been changed. The two new types of Ārjunayana coins brought to light by D. Handa (*JNSI*, XXXVIII, I, pp. 1 ff) depict a lion before a post, which cannot be anything but a form of *linga* at least on one coin (*ibid*, pl. I. 1). Hence the symbol on other coins too may be identical.
25. *BMC, AI*, pp. c, 158.
26. J. N. Banerjea in *DHI*, p. 132 states that this *chakra* is the same as the sudarśana chakra of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu on the analogy of his explanation of the wheel on the Vṛishṇi coin. But whereas we have ample literary evidence to show the Vaishṇava association of the Vṛishṇis the same is lacking about the Kulūtas.
27. For the coins of other Kulūta kings cf. *Taxila*, I, pp. 170-213; *Ibid*, II, pp. 787, 820, 841, *Ibid*, III, Pl. 243. 252-7.
28. *BMC, AI*, p ciii ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 161, n. 1; *Early History of North India*, p. 43.
29. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 31, 33.
30. *BMC, AI*, p. ci.
31. *Ibid*, pp. 159-67, 288.
32. Quoted by J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 134.
33. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 134.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 118, f.n. 1; *JNSI*, XIII, I, p. 163 f.n. 2; *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 797-98, f.n. 7.
35. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 127-8.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
37. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 134.
38. The proposed identification possibly can not be accepted, for *Mahāmāyūrī* possibly mentions one of the Buddhist Yakshas. Possibly a Brahmanical goddess could not have been depicted side by side with a Buddhist Yaksha.

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39. The Chhatreśvara type coins of the Kuṇindas are executed after the pattern of the Kushāṇa copper. The Kuṇindas may have been subjects of the Kushāṇas during the interval between the two groups of their coins.
40. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 164.
41. *Ibid*; But Altekar refers to the name of this chief as Śrī (?) Soma, see *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, pp. 31-32.
42. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 164-65.
43. *BMC, AI*, p. civ-v.
44. *IMC*, I, pp. 170-71.
45. *IMC*, I, pp. 171-72.
46. *Ibid*, p. 172.
47. *Ibid*, pp. 172-73.
48. *Ibid*, p. 173.
49. *Ibid*, p. 174.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid*, p. 174.
52. *Ibid*, pp. 174 ff.
53. *Ibid*, p. 178.
54. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 65. These coins are not illustrated.
55. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 252 ff.
56. A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 252 ff.
57. *Ibid*, p. 267.
58. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, pp. 31-32.
59. Altekar says that "the Vedic texts require the *yūpa* to be an octagonal pillar; the sacrificers at Nandsa do not seem to have paid attention to this injunction" (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 252). This confirms our suggestion.
60. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 255.
61. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 118 ff.
62. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXVII, p. 255.
63. *Ibid*, pp. 255-56.
64. *Ibid*, p. 265.
65. *Ibid*, p. 265.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *BMC, AI*, p. CXXIII; *Early History of North India*, p 41; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 159, 160 fn. 5.
68. *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, XIV. 28; Fleet, *IA*, XXII, p. 182.
69. *BMC, AI*, p. CXXIII.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid*, pp. CXXIII, 212, Pl. XXIX. 12.

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72. cf. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 111.
73. *DHI*, p. 111.
74. *The Vedic Age*, p. 254; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 160, n. 4; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 150-51.
75. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 121.
76. *BMC, AI*, p. CXXV.
77. *BMC, AI*, p. CXXIV.
78. *The Vedic Age*, p. 254.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *The Vedic Age*, p. 279.
81. *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 208.
82. *Jataka*, No. 499.
83. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 449. The statement of the Classical writers that the Sibae were spared by Alexander because he considered them to be the descendents of his ancestor Heracles (*GBI*, p. 170) seems to be based on the characteristic traits of the Sibae which was similar to that of Heracles. Therefore, it can not be suggested that the Śibis were worshipping Greek gods.
84. Banerjea, *Ibid*, pp. 448-49.
85. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 449.
86. *Ibid*, p. 450.
87. *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 37, 70, cited by Banerjea in *DHI*, p. 450.
88. Sometimes it has been suggested that the coin legend—*Majhimikāya Sibijanapadasa* indicates that there may have been other Sibi centres also ; cf. *BMC, AI*, CXXV; Tarn (*GBI*, p. 151) states that "there is no question of the whole people having moved."
89. *The Vedic Age*, p. 297.
90. *Ibid*, pp. 296-97.
91. *BMC, AI*, p. CLVII.
92. A similar composite animal is depicted on some sealings found from Sunet, cf. *JNSI*, XXXV. pp. 95 ff.
93. *BMC, AI*, pp. CLV, 281.
94. *Ibid.*
95. J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 131.
96. *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 95 ff.
97. H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 194 ff.
98. Lüders, (*ibid.*) identified the five heros of the inscription with Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha of the Jaina literature. But this identification is not favoured. R.P. Chanda read the second line of the epigraph to mean that

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in all six images were installed, that is, 5 of the same number of the Pāṇḍavas and an additional image of divine Vṛishṇi or Kṛishna-Vāsudeva. To him the stone slab bearing the epigraph was 'one of the pavement slabs of a big temple in which the images of Kṛishṇa and the five Pāṇḍava brothers were enshrined', *MASI*, No. 5, pp. 166-67.

99. *DHI*, p. 94.
100. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 94.
101. *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch. 97. 1-4.
102. *DHI*, p. 94.
103. *BMC, AI*, p. CXL.
104. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. III, 116 ; *ibid*, V. III, 117.
105 *BMC, AI*, pp. CXXXIX-CXL.
106. *Ibid*, p. 212.
107. Yaudheyas, Śibis, Rājanyas etc. were their neighbours and most of them were Saivites.
108. B. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61 ff.
109. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXV ; *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61 ff; Chakrabortty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 215.
110. *BMC, AI*, p. 125, Pl. XIV. 13.
111. *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 215.
112. R. C. Kar, *IHQ*, XX, pp. 59 ff.
113. *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 215.
114. *DHI*, p. 487.
115. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 67. A similar suggestion was made by J.N. Banerjea with regard to the Yaudheyas and Kuṇindas; elsewhere I have rejected this view (*JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 123 ff).
116. Sircar, D.C., *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 6.
117. *BMC, AI*, p. CLI.
118. Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 7 ff.
119. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Yaudheya as the name of a son of the Pāṇḍava king Yudhishṭhira (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165). According to another tradition, however, the Yaudheyas sprang from king Nṛiga (*The Vedic Age*, p. 279).
120. *BMC, AI*, p. clii. cf. Altekar (*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 119) says that the report regarding the bravery and rich resources of the Yaudheyas terrified the soldiers of Alexander and hence they refused to march further. But the non-mention of the tribe in connection with Alexander's invasion makes this observation untenable.
121. *BMC, AI*, pp. clii-iii.
122. *Ibid*, p. cliii.

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123. *Ep. Ind*, viii, pp. 44, 47.
124. *BMC, AI*, p. cliii.
125. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 8, 14.
126. *BMC, AI*, pp. 267-70, 288
127. *BMC, AI*, p. 275.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-75; S. C. Kala, *JNSI*, XVIII, I, pp. 46-48 refers to 56 coins of this class.
129. *BMC, AI*, p. 272, the reverse symbols interchange their places on this variety.
130. *Ibid*, p. 273.
131. *BMC, AI*, pp 273-75.
132. Prayag Dayal's Yaudheya coins from Dehradun also contain this reverse type. But he refers to it as a 'deer before an incomplete building' (No. 95), *JNSI*, II, p.112.
133. *BMC, AI*, pp. 275.
134. Prayag Dayal has also recognised Śiva both on rev. (No. 12) and on obv. (No. 85). Among the animals not represented on the coins of *BMC, AI*, he has recognised Ass (No. 64), horse (No. 74) and leopard (No. 104), cf. *JNSI*, II, pp. 109-12. Another coin showing Śiva with trident on obverse is referred to by S C. Kala, *JNSI*, XVIII, I, p. 47.
135. *BMC, AI*, p. 275; S.C. Kala has made a reference to 25 coins of this class. He has read the obverse legend as *rajño Bhānuva* on one and *Bhānuvasya* on another coin published by him, *JNSI*, XVIII, I, pp. 47, 48.
136. *BMC, AI*, p. 276-78.
137. *BMC, AI*, p. 277.
138. *Ibid*, p. 278.
139. *Ibid*, p. 276.
140. Hoernle, *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1884, pp. 137-141.
141. Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 251-52. The inscription is fragmentary; my suggestion is based on the matter available in line 2nd of the epigraph.
142. Kala, *JNSI*, XVIII, I, pp. 46-48.
143. *BMC, AI*, pp. CXLVII-VIII; cf. *D.H.I.*, p. 109.
144. "On the tribal coins of the Yaudheyas, Kārttikeya is depicted with a cock by his side. But later on from the 4th century A. D. *Kukkuṭa* was replaced by a peacock and Kārttikeya began to be described as *Mayūravāhana.*" (Agrawala, V. S., *Matsyapurāṇa—A Study*, p. 258, and in *JNSI*, V, p. 30, also, he refers to a cock on Yaudheya coins). But the bird on Yaudheya coins is in fact recognised as a peacock, Cf. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 276 ff.

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145. *DHI*, p. 142; *JNSI*, XIII, p. 162.
146. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, pp. 133 ff.
147. *JNSI*, XXVII, II, p. 134.
148. *tato bahudhanaṃ ramyaṃ gavāḍhyaṃ dhanadhānyavat,*
Kārttikeyasya dayitaṃ rohītakamupādravat.
tattra yuddham mahāchchāsichchhurairmattamayūrakaiḥ,
marubhūmiṃ sa kārtsnyena tathaiva bahudhānyakaṃ.
Sabhāparva, ch. 32. 4-5, cf. also *Rohitake Kārttikeyaḥ kumāro lokaviśrutaḥ* referred to in *JUPHS*, XVI, II, p. 27 ff.
149. S. Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915; *JUPHS*, Dec. 1942, p. 34.
150. *JNSI*, II, p. 112, No. 64.
151. J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p 367.
152. V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, V, p. 29.
153. *JNSI*, II, p. 110. The six heads of the goddess were not recognised by Allan, cf. his *BMC, AI*; also Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 181-82.
154. *JNSI*, XVIII, I, p. 48 No. 3.
155. Agrawala, *JNSI*, V, p. 30.
156. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 229.49-50.
157. D. B. Pandey, *JNSI*, XXIX, I, pp. 5 ff.
158. *Ibid*, p. 5.
159. Vanaparva, 231. 55.
160. *JNSI*, XXIX, I, pp 6-7.
161. R. C. Agrawala says that "the goddess" on Yaudheya coins "is none else but Devasenā or Shashṭhī..." *JNSI*, XXX, p. 182.
162. *JNSI*, V, p. 30. This is based on Vanaparva, 229. 49-50; cf. Pandey, D. B., *JNSI*, XXIX, I, p. 8.
163. J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 134.
164. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 275.
165. *JNSI*, II, p. 112, No. 95.
166. *BMC, AI*, p. 275.
167. Prayag Dayal noticed two, cf. *JNSI*, II, pp. 109-12, Nos 12 and 85; one more has been mentioned by Kala, *JNSI*, XVIII, I, p. 47.
168. *BMC, AI*, p. 275.
169. *Ibid*, p. 277.
170. *JNSI*, XVIII, I, p. 48.
171. Hoernle, *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1884, 137-141.
172. *BMC, AI*, p. 278.
173. *Gobrāhmaṇahitārthāya Saināpatyebhishiñchamāṃ*, Vanaparva, 229. 23.

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174. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 160. 10-26.

175. The seal bearing *Yaudheyānām jayamantradharāṇām* perhaps refers to the Yaudheya cabinet, members of which are referred to as the holders of the secret of victory. Writers on polity have stressed on the benefits of keeping the deliberations of the cabinet secret, which is said to be a source of victory.

176. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II, 10.26. 2-3.

177. Śāntiparava, 21.19; 78.28, 30.

178. *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 44-46.

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XI

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON TRIBAL COINS

GHANSHYAM MURARI SRIVASTAVA

The indigenous coins that followed punch-marked species are both cast and die-struck, and include both uninscribed and inscribed pieces. Allan has stated that, "they may be conveniently referred to as 'Tribal Coins.'"[1] Since "the tribal coins constitute only a part of this extensive series,"[2] this could not be accepted as a suitable term. Allan himself has described them, at another place in his *Catalogue*, as "coins which have been attributed to particular dynasties or districts..."[3] There has been a suggestion to use the term 'local coinage' denoting all tribal, monarchic and *Naigama* coins together with the coins bearing the names of certain cities.[4] But Cunningham has described those coins which have the tribal legends by their tribal names and has mentioned these under the place names they are found from.[5] Smith following Cunningham has used the term 'local coinage' for those metallic pieces which have been found from certain localities and 'tribal coinage' for those which bear some 'tribal legend'.[6] Thus with all possible similarities, there is, at least, one point which could be considered for dividing this vast series of coinage and that is the names of tribes or dynasties on some of the inscribed coins. We can safely come out with the contention that the currencies bearing tribal (?) names must be designated as 'tribal coinage'[7] leaving all other contemporary issues to be divided on account of their issuing authorities under different heads such as coins of monarchical states, and coins of Naigamas and cities etc.

These inscribed metallic pieces are assignable to a period when North-Western India came under the sway of successive foreign rulers such as the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians,

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Parthians and Kushāṇas. All these foreign rulers issued coins. We can assume that the issues of foreigners and native tribes must have been current simultaneously in the different parts of N. W. India which originally belonged to the tribes but had gone under the sway of foreigners. It is this assumption that makes us to trace foreign influence on these tribal coins. We find a trend of coppying among the foreign rulers of India as the coins issued by Indo-Greeks, were copied by Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. Though the Kushāṇas did not maintain the same monetary tradition and introduced considerable changes but that too under Roman influence. Thus when such big powers were not free from the influence of either preceding or contemporary coinage it is quite natural to believe some sort of foreign influence on these tribal coins and make a modest attempt to trace it out in as much as these tribes were in close contact with the foreigners and their coins were often intended to replace those of the foreigners.

From the viewpoint of manufacture we find that the technique of casting is indigenous and is free from any kind of foreign influence.[8] But as the die-struck coins became wide-spread, amongst various local series, after the advent of foreigners, specially the Greeks, it has very often been held that ancient Indians learnt the art of die-stricking from the foreigners which would, in a way, mean that the Indo-Greeks inspired Indians to use this technique.[9] Besides die-striking method, according to some scholars, Indians also started using legends on their coins under foreign influence.[10] Not only this but even the round shape of their coins is also attributed to foreign infiuence.[11] The credit for all these, goes to the Indo-Greeks.

So far as the die-striking method is concerned we have positive evidence to believe that "this system was the natural culmination of the indigenous system of punch marking[12] and instead of impressing symbols by separate punches, a group of symbols or a device was struck by a single die-punch. We know that even before the occupation of Taxila

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by Indo-Greeks some uninscribed single and double type coins, all die struck and having a seal like impression[13] were current in that region and were superseded by Indo-Greek coinage in point of time.[14] That some die-struck coins of this region with the legend *Hirañasame* were copied by the early Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles[15] is again suggestive of the fact that the die-striking method existed in India before the advent of the Indo-Greeks. Rapson[16] also believed that the incuse impression on the early struck coins was a result of the indigenous method of striking the die on a half-molten piece of metal. Moreover, the cruder technique applied by Indians also suggests that they had not copied Indo-Greeks for them. Had they been really copied they should have been finer in execution.

The tribal coins are both square and round in shape. The square shape is generally accepted to be indigenous whereas the round shape of Indian coins, accordig to some scholars, is due to foreign influence.[17] But this view is untenable as the round shape of some of the Punch-Marked coins[18] gives a contrary suggestion, it is strange to behold that a few silver coins issued by the states of Punjab closely resemble the drachms of Indo-Greek rulers of India in size, weight, shape and fabric. Even then the credit for the idea of a round shape of coins, cannot be given to foreigners i.e. Indo-Greeks.

That the Indians learnt to use writing on their coins from foreigners does not hold good as the coin from Taxila, bearing the legend '*Hirañasame*', was current before the advent of Greeks and it was copied by Agathocles. The coin of Dharmapāla of Eran bears only a legend and has no device. "The way in which the legend was impressed on the flan clearly shows how writing was effected. The person who was to cut the name of the issuer on the die, did not know how to do it, he cut the letters on the die 'in the positive way' and from left to right instead of "in the negative way' and from right to left. The consequent effect is curious.

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The coin being struck with the wrongly cut die has the legend reversely impressed. However, it represents the earliest attempt at inscribing a die-struck coin in an indigenous manner—and evidently independently of a foreign example."[19] But, this may, as well, be interpreted that the mint master of Dharmapāla was inspired by the use of writing i. e. the name of the issuers on the coins of foreign rulers and he also attempted the same, but, as he was ignorant of the method of die-cutting, he erred and the result was a reversed legend. However, the Vaṭaśvaka coins, like that of Taxila, also prove the use of writing on coins without any sign of foreign influence. Thus, no credit could possibly be given to foreigners for the use of writing on Indian coins but at the same time we have to accept that the arrangement and subject matter of the legends on the tribal coins are highly influenced by those of the coins of foreign rulers. The legends on Indo-Greek coins consist of a reference to the royal office, other epithets and the name of the king concerned. On the coins of the Audumbaras, the Vṛishṇis and the Kuṇindas, more or less the same pattern has been followed.[20] On the coins of Audumbara Dharaghosha most of the legend is written above the device in a semi-circle and the remaining part i. e. the name of the tribe is written below the device. This is a typical Greek style seen on the coins of Menander.[21]

In this context we can also examine some of the words used in coin legends, which show a close influence of the foreign rulers' issues. On the tribal coins, the titles *rājan* and *mahārāja* are frequently used. The coins of the Kuṇinda king Amoghabhūti bear for him both the titles *rājan* and *mahārāja* simultaneously.[22] The use of the two can be attributed to foreign impact. The three pioneer issuers of Indo-Greek bilingual coins, viz. Pantaleon, Agathocles and Eucratides I have translated the Greek royal title *Basileus* (king) by the word *rājan*.[23] The same title *Basileus* has been rendered by the word *mahārāja*, a title first adopted by

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the Greek rulers of India and its use on Indian coins seems to be the impact of foreign contact.[24] Yet another title *rājarāja* which occurs on some silver coins of Mahādeva is clearly an influence of Indo-Scythian coins which bear titles like *rājarāja* and *rājātirāja.*[25] On the unique silver coin of the Vṛishṇis, the word *tratara* that forms part of the legend *Vṛishṇi rājanyagaṇasya tratarasya*[26] has evidently been copied from the Indo-Greek coins where the term has been used as a Prakrit rendering of the Greek word *Soter.* On some Yaudheya coins, with six-headed Kārttikeya the legend runs like *Bhāgvato svāmino Brahmaṇa Yaudheya,* or *Bhagavato svāmino Brahmaṇa Devasya.*[27] The title *svāmino* reminds us of the same word on Kshatrapa coins[28] The use of the word *Viyaya* or *Viyayaka* (*Vijayaka*) on the coins of Vemaki Rudravarma may well have been inspired by the title Nikator of Indo-Greek coins.[29] The later tribal coins contain, as mentioned earlier, the epithet, name of the king and the tribe. The practice of using tribe's name alongwith that of king is found on early Kushāṇa coinage.[30] It is interesting to note that some coins of Kujul Kadphises copy the obverse of Hermaeus and their reverse has the legend *Kujala Kasasa Kushaṇa Yavugasa Dhramaṭhidasa* which signifies "Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa Yavuka (chief) or leader of the Kushāṇas, who is devoted to religion."[31] This is apparently an attempt of the Kushāṇa king to propagate his identity in his newly won kingdom which was previously under the sway of the Indo-Greeks. There are chances that this practice was adopted under Kushāṇa influence[31a] to distinguish the identity of kings and the tribes. The epithet *Mahadevasa* on the coins of Audumbara kings[32] reminds us of the *Mahiśvaras* on the coins of Wema Kadphises.[33]

For the biscriptual tribal coins[34] the inspiration must have come from the Indo-Greeks and their followers, though some coins from Taxila, dated by some before the advent of the Indo-Greeks in India, bearing Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī on their two sides[35] would show a practice of two scripts even before the Greeks. But on these coins there are two

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things written in two scripts[36] whereas on the biscriptual Indo-Greek and tribal coins the subject matter is always the same. The Indo-Greek kings, when they came in close contact with native people, felt the necessity of the use of a local script on their coins. They used Kharoshṭhī, because it was the prevailing local alphabet in North-Western India. This was done for the convenience of their non-Greek subjects. The same practice was continued by Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and early Kushāṇas. The tribal states of North-Western India also must have felt the necessity of using biscriptual coins due to their trade relations with other parts of India and to facilitate exchange of goods they issued such coins following the model of biscriptual coins of foreigners popular in North-Western India with some moderation, e. g. they used Brāhmī, a script popular all over India, on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī, a script popular mainly in North-Western India, on the reverse.[36a]

Most of the devices on tribal coins are indigenous but there are some which show the impact of foreigners. The copper coins issued by these tribal states do not generally betray any sign of foreign influence, but some of the copper issues of the later Yaudheyas bear the impact of Kushāṇa copper coins[37] in the depiction of the reverse deity. Besides this the fabric and weight-standard of the Yaudheya coins are characteristic of the Kushāṇa specimen.[38] The silver coins of the tribes of Punjab like the Audumbaras, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas, the Vemakis and the Yaudheyas[39] show considerable influence of Indo-Greek coins not only in the form, fabric and devices but also in weight standard. The depiction of the deity on the obverse of the silver coins of the Audumbara king Dharaghosha is similar to the figure of Heracles crowning himself on the coins of Lysias and Zoilus I.[40] The trident with battle-axe attached may well have been copied from Indo-Greeks and Kushāṇas. A hemidrachm of Zoilus from Pathankot with trident-battle axe of Śiva, in field on the reverse may be mentioned in this

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context.[41] An independent depiction of bull or elephant is not new on Indian coins but their simultaneous occurrence reminds of 'elephant and Bull' type coins of Apollodotus I.[42] The 'man standing with spear in hand' device on the coins of the Audumbaras and Yaudheyas[43] is possibly an imitation of similar depictions of deities on the coins of Indo-Greeks and the Kushāṇas.[44] Class 6 of Yaudheya coins described by Allan in his *Catalogue* show a clear influence of Kushāṇa issues. The depiction of goddess Lakshmī greatly resembles the figures of Helios, Mithra, or Mao on the Kushāṇa coins. The inverted Triśūla may, even, be a copy of a popular Kushāṇa symbol.[45]

The tribal coins are mostly of copper and rarely of silver probably because of their poor economic condition. But the few silver coins we get are greatly influenced by the issues of foreign rulers is evident by the above discussion and naturally one feels that probably the silver coins were started by tribal states under the influence of foreign rulers and later on in Kuṇinda silver coins we see an attempt of the Indian ruler to issue a native silver currency which could compete with later Indo-Greek silver pieces.[46] Further, contrary to the copper pieces of these tribes, their silver issues definitely follow the weight standard of the Indian drachm of 20 *rattis* issued by the Indo-Greeks. The only exception is the silver coin of Vīrayaśa which is of a different weight standard.[47]

References

1. *BMC, AI,* p. XIV.
2. Jai Prakash, *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India,* p. 6.
3. *BMC, AI,* p. XIII.
4. Jai Prakash, *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of North. India,* pp. 6-7.
5. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India,* pp. 66 ff.
6. Smith, V., *IMC,* I, pp. 143-183.
7. Ahmad, N., *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of North. India,* p. 17.
8. Sahni, B., *Technique of Casting Coins in India,* pp. 18 ff., 32; also Brown, C. J., *Coins of India,* pp. 18-19.

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9. *Studies in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 126.
10. *Ibid*, p. 138; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159 and n. 1.
11. *The Carmichael Lectures*, p. 148 and n. 1.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 150 51.
13. *BMC, AI*, p. 219, Pl. XXXII. 1-22.
14. *Ibid*, p. CXXXIX.
15. Whitehead, R. B., *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II.51-52; *BMC, AI*, p. CXXXI.
16. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 14, sec. 56.
17. *The Carmichael Lectures*, p. 148 n. 1.
18. *NS*, XLV Pl. I-III and *BMC-AI*, p. II, 18; Pl. III. 21, Pl. IV. 14.
19. Lahiri, A. N., *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of North. India*, p. 213.
20. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. IV. 1, 3, 5, 6, 15 ; Pl. V. 1.
21. *CIGC*, Pl. XXIV. 5.
22. *BMC, AI*, p. 159, Pl. XXII. 1.
23. Lahiri, A. N., *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 256; and also *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong*, 1964, pp. 145-46.
24. *BMC, AI*, p. Cii.
25. *Ibid*, p. 123. Pl. XIV. 16. [The title *rajatiraja* was perhaps first used by Eucratides (I or III) on some of his copper coins Cf. *IMC*, I, Pl. II. 10 ; *BMC, AI*, pl. XXX. 12. *JPS*].
26. *Ibid*, pp. Clv and 281, Pl. XVI. 5. The same coin has been described by Cunningham alongwith Audumbaras and the legend has been read as *Vṛishṇi rāja Jñagaṇasya bhubharasya*; *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 15.
27. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. VI. 9, 11.
28. Rapson, *BMC*, p. 76 (Jayadāman son of Chashṭana). [Cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, II p. 134 for the use of *svāmin* on Yaudheya coins. *JPS*.]
29. *BMC, AI*, pp. LXXXV and 125, Pl. XIV. 13.
30. Chattopadhyaya, B., *The Age of the Kushanas*, pp. 17-55.
31. *Ibid*, p. 22; *BMC*, p. 120-21.

31a. [The suggestion that the use of the name of the tribe, on what we now know as tribal coins, was inspired by a similar practice followed by the Kushāṇas is not acceptable. It is almost certain that at least some of the tribal coins bearing the names of the tribe issuing them are pre-Kushāṇa in origin. Besides, the Yaudheyas are one people who are known to have issued coins under Kushāṇa influence. These coins also

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contain the name of their tribe, like their earlier coins, the latter of which were isued probably at a time when they were not associated in any way with the Kushāṇas, *JPS.*]

32. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. IV. 1.
33. Chattopadhyaya, B., *The Age of the Kushanas*, p. 43 (Both the coins have the depiction of Śiva and his attributes).
34. *BMC, AI*, p. 124, Pl. XIV. 14 ; p. 158 Pl. XVI. 14; p. 159, Pl. XXII. 1; p. 212, Pl. XXIX. 10; p. 125, Pl. XIV. 13; p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5.
35. *Ibid*, p. 214, Pl. XXXI. 2 class I, Var. *b*.
36. *Ibid*, (The coin bears on the obverse the legend *Negamā* in Brāhmī and on the reverse the legend *Dojakā* in Kharoshṭhī.)

36a. [The biscriptual nature of the tribal coinage was probably in fact, inspired by the bilingual and biscriptual coins of the Indo-Greeks. But the Indo-Greeks were emulated in this respect only by the few tribal republics whose territories were perhaps contigous to those of the Greeks of undivided India. *JPS.*]

37. *Ibid*, Pl. XL. 1; *PMC*, I, Pl. XVIII. 67.
38. Lahiri, A.N., *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of North. India*, p. 214, f.n. 2.
39. *BMC, AI*, Pl. XIV. 14, p. 158, Pl. XVI. 14; Pl. XXI. 1; Pl. XIV. 23.
40. *CIGC*, pp. 16 and 36; *PMC*, p. 30, Pl. III. 150; p. 65, Pl. VII. 525.
41. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. IV. 3. [It is possible that Zoilus may have copied the Śaiva symbol trident-battle axe from the coins of the Audumbaras, whose coins often contain this symbol. *JPS.]*
42. *Ibid*, p. 68, Pl. IV. 4, 5, 6; also *BMC, AI*, p. cliv, "Coin No. 9 "'etc." [It is not impossible to argue that the types were copied by Apollodotus from the Audumbara type concerned. *JPS.*]
43. *Ibid*, p. 77, Pl. VI. 6-8.
44. *Coin Types of Indo-Greek Kings*, p. 6, No. 1 (Demetrius II); p. 14, No. 2 (Menander); and Chattopadhyaya, B., *The Age of the Kushāṇas*, p. 76 (Huvishka's Mihira type coins, Var. 6).
45. *BMC, AI*, pp. Cl, & 276, Pl. XLI.
PMC, p. 186, Pl. XVII. 53 and p. 187, Pl. XVII. 63-64.
46. *BMC, AI*, pp. Cii-Ciii.
47. Lahiri, A.N., *Jour. AIH*, I, p. 61. [The coin concerned is a copper piece, cf. K.K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. 71-72. *JPS.*]

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XII

THE KUMĀRAS—A FORGOTTEN ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBE

NISAR AHMAD

I

The round copper coins which bear the legend *Bhāgavataḥ-Svāmino-Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* running around, are found in a large number. A few of them were published for the first time by Cunningham[1]. These were presented to him by Major Herschel. The 14 pieces of this series, lying in the coin-cabinet of the Indian Museum, are listed by Smith[2]. Allan catalogues a good number of these coins kept in the British Museum which belonged to the collections of the Indian Museum, Prinsep, Cunningham, Spink, Rodgers, Rawlins and Whitehead.[3] Their other specimens are described by Durga Prasad[4] and S. C. Kala,[5] respectively.

The sizes of all, except two, range from 0.85 to 1.20 inches. But a good number of them, forming 40.32% of the entire known sizes of the available coins measure 1.0 inch, and their 12.90, 17.74, and 8.06 percentages measure .9, .95 and 1.10 inches, respectively. Thus nearly 80% of these coins measure .9 to 1.10 inches. Two pieces are .6 inch in diameter (see Table II). These coins exhibit a wide range in weight i.e., from 26 to 195.0 grains (Cf. Table I). They appear to have been minted after two types of coins, i.e. *Paṇa* and *Viṁśatika*. The Indian *Paṇa* had the standard of 146 grains approximately; according to Cunningham 146 grains,[6] Chakrabortty 140 grains[7] and Agrawala 144 grains[8]. Its four denominations can be noticed: 1, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$. The lowest one, the *pāda-Kārshāpaṇa*, is known by two pieces which weigh 26.0 and 30.0 grains. Again, the second denomination *Ardha-Kārshāpāṇa* is also known by two specimens weighing 71 and

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75 grains. Some of the coins are 104, 107, 109 and 109.9 grains and they can be taken as $\frac{3}{4}$ of the *Kārshāpaṇa*. Twenty six coins have their weights from 113.0 to 148.8 grains. They can be considered as *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Paṇa*. Of the remaining coins, two kinds of weights can be marked out : sin coins weigh between 80 to 96 grains and twenty three, between 151.05 and 195.0 grains. We know that a coin named *Vimśatika* had a standard of 180 grains.[9] Hence they can be presumed as $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 of its denomination.

As regards the provenance of these coins, Cunningham writes :—"I obtained four of them in the Kangra district... and upwards of 300 copper pieces, were all found between the Sutlej and Jumna Rivers."[10] But Cunnigham in his first report, does not record these facts. Moreover, these 300 specimens were collected by Major Herschel and not by Cunningham himself. Smith remarks : –"Four of the copper pieces were obtained in the Kāngrā District, and a great many at a place called Jogadheri in the Eastern Punjāb."[11] Perhaps the latter part of Smith's statement refers to the 300 copper pieces of Major Herschel, as its first part definitely speaks about those four copper coins, claimed to have been obtained by Cunningham in the Kangra district. Cunningham is silent about the exact provenance of these 300 copper specimens. Thus, these facts make us reluctant towards the acceptance of the find spots of the coins published by Cunningham. Besides, the find places of those pieces which are listed by Smith and Allan, are not reported to us. So the only definite and unquestionable provenances, of these coins, known to us are Dehradun and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh.

These coins are characterised to have, on the obverse-standing six-headed or one-headed Kārttikeya or standing goddess or standing Śiva, and, on the reverse, standing six-headed Kārttikeya or standing single-headed or six-headed goddess, or standing three-headed Śiva or single or a pair of deers, or bull, or ass, or horse, or leopord, alongwith arched

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symbol (also called as *Chaitya* or hill) and sometimes surmounted by other symbols and tree-in-railing and also associated with minor symbols.

Of these devices, the figure of Kārttikeya is depicted on almost all the coins and generally on the obverse of this series. Rarely it occurs in identical shape on both the sides. Kala describes the obverse figure as 'six-headed Kārttikeya' or 'multiheaded Kārttikeya' whereas he refers to the reverse figure simply as 'six-headed' or 'multi-headed' deity. Dasgupta doubtfully calls the reverse deity as female with mark of interogation and puts the identification within brackets. But, on these coins the deities are drawn in similar fashion. Again, the reverse divinity clearly holds spear on a coin. Therefore, this may be identified as Kārttikeya. Here, it is also to be said, that the spear, which is in the right hand of the deity, apparently looks like a trident but the lines regarded to be its prongs are the parts of the fillet bound to the spear. Often this deity is represented in polycephalous form in which his six-heads are arranged in two rows, of three each. All his heads have matted locks and sometimes they have crests, but at times five or three heads alone have crests. This constitution of the deity reminds *Shaḍānana* or *Shaṇamukha* form of the Hindu war-god Kārttikeya, because according to the mythology this god was born with six faces to suck all his six mothers at the same time. The single-headed Kārttikeya is also portrayed and occasionally it has a radiating head although the radiating rays are also considered as heads by R. C. Agrawala and K. K. Dasgupta. The former states that some of the coins of this series, lying in the Jhajjar Museum, contain the figure of "six-headed Skanda in an unusual manner i.e., one head appears in the centre and the other five heads are shown around the main head, thus bearing some resemblance with reverse device of a coin in British Museum. What appears to be a radiating head, on the reverse of the British Museum coin, may be the central

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head with five remaining heads around as in the specimens of Jhajjar Museum. Following him[11A], Dasgupta also writes that "Allan's description of the figure of Skanda with a radiating head' (mentioned in his *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, N. B., p. 204) 'is wrong' and further explains that 'in the said halo of the head are traceable the five remaining heads'[12]. The description referred to is the coin no. 58 of *BMC, AI*. There, around the central pillet which is of round shape and represents the head of the deity, six pillets drawn in elongated form can be traced out. The difference in their shape definitely goes against the identification proposed by Dasgupta. Even if they are accounted for, the heads of the deity will be seven in number, a feature not associated with Kārttikeya. Rarely on the obverse, the single-headed god is represented on lotus and the six-headed god on pedestal. The god holds spear in his right hand which is *śakti*, his characteristic emblem. Sometimes his right hand is raised towards spear which stands obliquely. According to the *Mahābhārata* "the *śakti* which conducts to the victory of the gods advanced before Skanda".[13]

Śiva with three heads is shown on the reverse of a coin standing facing with right hand raised and left hand on hip where on the obverse Kārttikeya appears as six-headed with right hand raised towards spear and left hand resting on hip. Śiva is also depicted single-headed holding trident in his right hand and left hand on hip, on the obverse of a few coins which contain the device of deer on the reverse.

The third tellurian embodiment is a female figure curved either single-headed or six-headed on a good number of coins. Generally it is portrayed on the reverse but on a few it is placed on the obverse. At times she has crests on some of her heads. The figure of the single-headed goddess has a radiating head. D.B. Pandey recognises them as flames and he writes that "the flames are six in number perhaps representing the lights of six visible stars."[14] Rarely she is shown standing either on lotus or a bent line.

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This female deity is identified differently. S.K. Chakrabortty says: "what it stands for can not be definitely ascertained."[16] Allan[16], J. N. Banerjea[17] and Kala[18] take it as Lakshmī. V. S. Agrawala identifies her as *Shashṭhī*, the consort of Skanda, also known as Devasenā in *Mahābhārata*[19]. The god is mentioned as *Shashṭhī priyaḥ*[20] (beloved of Shashṭhī) or *Devasenāpriyaḥ*[21] (beloved of Devasenā) and thus pointing them to be one and the same. He later on substantiated this identification by citing a textual reference wherein six-headed Shashṭhī is mentioned.[22] D.B. Pandey refutes it because "Shashṭhī is always related with the welfare of children, whereas goddess Devasenā is not," and the reference of Devasenā in this context in *Śrīmaddevībhāgavata Purāṇa* "is probably a later development in the worship of Shashṭhī". Again in this literature she is regarded as *Yoginī*. He holds "that the reference of *Mahābhārata*, where Shashṭhī is referred to as Devasenā, is of a later date, and to him "Devasenā and Shashṭhī were two different goddesses," and by the time of *Mahābhārata* i.e., *c.* 4th-5th century A. D. these goddesses as well as Lakshmī merged into one goddess.[23] And the goddess *Kṛittikā*, the mother of Skanda or Kārttikeya, also called as Shashṭhī, 'is worshipped by women with progeny and wishing progeny."[24] But R. C. Agrawala rightly rejects the identification of the goddess with *Kṛittikā* because "nowhere we find any reference to any Kṛittikā alone and that two with all the six-heads together meant for Skanda-Kumāra." He refers to the sculptural representations of the *Kṛittikās* and there they are drawn quite separately.[25] Dasgupta also does not accept the hypothesis put forth by Pandey, since he "has failed to cite an instance depicting son with mother, either on human or on divine level, in its support". Besides, the absence of any textual description or plastic representation of one *Kṛittikā* alone or a composite form of six *Kṛittikās*, on the other hand, a few sculptures depicting a six-headed goddess, "are illustrative of the concept of Shaṇamukhī Shashṭhī or Devasenā."[26] Therefore,

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it is definite that the one-headed or six-headed female figure shown on these coins is that of Shashṭhī or Devasenā.

The other popular device, second to the god Kārttikeya is of deer which is depicted of the reverse. It is also called a stag or an antelope by scholars. The single deer is delineated on various coins but on one specimen it figures twice. This animal is pictured either facing to right or left. Banerjea[27] and Dasgupta[28] consider it as a 'theriomorphic representation of Lakshmī', the goddess of fortune. Certainly in *Mahābhārata* Devasenā is also called Lakshmī[29] and as such she can be portrayed alongwith Kārttikeya but the animal representations on the coins can not always be taken as religious.[30] In case the deer symbolised Lakshmī, its depiction twice viz., illustrating two figures of Lakshmī side by side, on a coin has to be explained. Besides deer, there are other animals such as bull, horse, ass and leopard. Dasgupta writes: "On some coins appears a bull which must be Nandi, if the male figure with which it is accompanied represents Śiva."[31] But here the bull is represented on one side of the coin which bears the figure of Kārttikeya on the other. In fact deer figures on the reverse of the coins which contain the portrayal of Śiva on the obverse. Hence this bull may not be taken as *Nandi*. Horse also occurs with the device of Kārttikeya, the latter on the obverse and the former on the reverse. Can the picture of horse be not regarded as an evidence of the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice by the issuers of these coins? The identification of ass, to K. P. Nautiyal, "presents some difficulty," because in his view, "even horse was not used by Yaudheyas as a device anywhere in the coins." He proposes: "If we accept some nearness, it would be more appropriate to take it as a hill pony rather than ass. Hilly pony is similar in height just like the ass. If the view is accepted, it would be quite interesting since it would be an unusual and new device, which may be taken as a symbol of local importance."[32] But horse occurs on a coin of this series and its identity

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cannot be doubted "as is shown by its equinine muzzle and hoofs as well as by its bushy tail". Dasgupta thinks it to be "probably, a mule, so useful in the hilly regions of Garhwal." But this animal is definitely[33] an ass. The depiction of leopard may be due to the commonness in the regions where the issuers of the series ruled.

Two symbols tree-in-railing and six arched symbol alone or surmounted by umberalla or six-arched symbol surmounted by umberalla and *nandipada* (also called as *triratna*) are always sketched at the either side of the central device on the reverse and sometimes these two symbols change their places. Rarely six-arched symbol alone is shown at either sides of the central device. This tree-in-railing can be described as *Indradhvajasampat*.[34] The six arched hill surmounted by umbrealla and *nandipada* is recognised by Allan as[35] three-arched symbol in railing surmounted by *nandipada* on coin-nos. 58-62 and 68, (Pls. XXXIX. 22 and XL. 10). Dasgupta also accepts it[36]. But we fail to notice the railing at the basement of this symbol on any illustrated piece. Of the two illustrated specimens, only on Pl. XL. 10 parts of the arches are visible at the left of the deity represented on the reverse and on Pl. XXXIX. 22 the lower part of this symbol definitly appears as arched. Again, this symbol can well be compared with that drawn on the Yaudheya silver coin.[37] The other associated minor symbols which occur on the reverse are double *nāga* symbol *svastika*, vase, building, ladder circular mark, river with grassy bank and wavy line. The double *nāga* symbol is described as two snakes facing one another by Theobald[38] and simply as 'the cobra symbol' by Allan,[39] while discussing the coins of the Kuṇindas. Following Banerjea[40], Dasgupta[41] takes it as *Śrivatsa*. But its nomenclature as *nāga* symbol is more appropriate. This symbol is also depicted horizontally on a few the coins. On a coin of the Indian Museum P. Banerjee inentifies the building symbol as 'a crude vase having a ring or handle at

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either side, and decorative lines on its body and a plant is coming out of its mouth.'[42] But the size of the object in question is drawn in height more than the animal and again there is no ring at its either side and infact its lower portion is the part of the other symbol. Hence it may not be taken as a vase but building. Vase also occurs on the obverse of some of the coins. Cock-standard or peacock, associated with Kārttikeya, is occasionally represented on the obverse of the coins. Three arched symbol takes place on the obverse of a coin.

I. Kārttikeya Type

On the basis of the variations in the associated symbols, they are grouped into two varieties.

Varity I.a.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing. Vase on right (Dasgupta refers to it as a *stūpa* with a mark of interogation—*A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 204).

Rev. : Deity as on the obverse; at right and left It is to be mentioned that the symbol, six-arched surmounted by umbrella and *nandi-pada*, which is placed on the left of the reverse deity, is not noticed by Kala. Again the tree-in-railing represented on the right of the reverse deity is simply recorded by Kala as tree. The six arched symbol surmounted by umbrella and *nandipada* is wrongly called by Dasgupta as indistinct symbol ( )

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48 no. 3, Pl. VI; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *F*.

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Variety (b)

I. *b.*

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing on pedestal, holding spear in right hand, peacock on right.

Rev. : Deity as on the obverse; tree-in-railing at right hand, ladder sign below.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, no. 8; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *G*.

II. Kārttikeya: Goddess Type

The coins of this type are found in sufficient numbers. They have single-headed Kārttikeya or six-headed Kārttikeya on the obverse. Hence on the basis of the obverse devices these coins may be divided into two classes.

A. Single-headed Kārttikeya.

B. Six-headed Kārttikeya.

Class A :

The specimens of this class can again be classified into two groups on the grounds of indifference in the shapes of the figures of goddess :

1. Single-headed Goddess.
2. Six—headed Goddess.

Group 1:

The pieces of this group may further be divided into four varieties on the basis of some additional marks represented either on the obverse or reverse.

Variety (a)

II. A.I.a.

Obv. : Standing single headed Kārttikeya, facing, head radiate, grasping spear in right hand and left hand resting on hip.

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Rev. : Single-headed Goddess standing and facing, right hand raised and left hand resting on hip, tree-in-railing at left, a *svastika* above at right; and a symbol probably six-arched and perhaps surmounted by an umbrella at right (Allan identified it as three arches in railing surmounted by *nandipada* but the specimen is blurred on the place where this symbol is drawn and hence it is very difficult to make out this mark thereon; but no where on these coins the symbol identified by Allan occurs; and on the other hand six-arched surmounted by umbrella is found on the other specimens; and, therefore, the latter is also accepted here). Dasgupta writes : "Allan is not correct in describing" Kārttikeya with one radiate head.[13] There is round pillet in the centre and around that are six elongated pillets. The latter elongated pillets cannot be considered as heads since their shape is different from the central pillet and again if they are accounted for, the heads of the deity will be seven in number a feature not associated with Kārttikeya.

W. : 160.0 grs.

S. : 1.00″

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 272, no. 58, pl. XXXIX. 22; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *D*.

Variety (*b*)

II. A.I.b.

Obv. : As preceding but vase in field on right.

Rev. : As preceding.

W. : 130.5, 141.0, 160.0 grs.

S. : 1.0″ (2 coins), 1.05″

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 272, nos. 59-61.

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Variety (*c*)

II. A.I.c.

Obv. : Single-headed Kārttikeya standing on lotus, with a vase in field at right.

Rev. : Single-headed Goddess on lotus, and rest of the symbols as on variety *a*.

W. : 195.0 grs.

S. : 1.05".

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 111, no. 16, Pl. X; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *c*.

Vvriety (*d*)

II. A.I.d.

Obv. : Single-headed Kārttikeya standing with spear in right hand.

Rev. : Single-headed Goddess standing, six-arched symbol at right and left.

(Kala describes Chaitya on left and tree-in-railing over; the latter is not traceable.)

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, 48, no. 6, Pl. VI.

Group 2:

The coins of this group are further classified into two varieties on the basis of some additional marks depicted either on the obverse or reverse.

Variety (*a*)

II. A.2.a.

Obv. : Single-headed Kārttikeya standing facing with a vase in field on right.

Rev. : Six-headed Goddess, the outer row of 5 has crests, standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip; arched symbol on left and tree-in-railing on right.

W. : 143.0 grs.

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S. : 1.0″

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 110, nos. 8-9, Pl. X.

Variety (*b*)

II. A.2.b.

Obv. : Single-headed Kārttikeya standing and facing, head radiate; vase in right field.

Rev. : Six-headed goddess; tree-in-railing right; arched symbol left and wavy line below.

W. : 154.5 grs.

S. : 1.0″

Ref. : *IMC*, 1, p. 182, no. 18 a.

Class B :

The coins of this class can also be divided into two groups on the basis of difference in the shapes of the figures of the goddess.

1. Single-headed Goddess.
2. Six-headed Goddess.

Group 1:

The specimens of this group are again divided into seven varieties :

Variety (*a*)

II. B.1.a.

Obv. : Standing Kārttikeya with crested six-heads facing left, holding spear in right hand and resting left arm on hip; Cock on the upper part of his left hand (It is not identified by Allan and as such Dasgupta does not mention it ; Cunningham also simply refers to it as a bird).

Rev. : Standing one-headed Goddess with radiate head, facing, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip; six-arched symbol surmouted by umbrella and *nandipada* at right; tree-in-railing at left and wavy line below.

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W : 142.0, 166.0, 180.0 grs.

S. : 1.0 (3 coins).

Ref. : *BMC, AI,* pp. 270-71, nos. 48-50. (no. 50 is recorded in *CAI,* Pl. VI. 12); Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *I.*

Variety (b)

II. B.I.b.

Obv. : As preceding.

Rev. : As preceding but tree-in-railing at right; six-arched symbol probably surmounted by umbrella and *nandipada* at left (Allan wrongly records the former at right and the latter at left); and lotus below the feet of the goddess (it is not noticed by Allan).

W. : 30.0, 122.0, 128.0, 140.2 grs.

S. : 6″; .95 (2 coins); 1.0″.

Ref. : *BMC, AI,* p. 271, nos. 51-54, Pl. XXXIX. 20, (*CAI,* Pl. VI. 10).

Variety (c)

II. B.I.c.

Obv. : As preceding.

Rev. : As preceding but lotus absent (Allan again wrongly mentions tree-in-railing on left and six-arched surmounted by *nandipada* on left).

W. : 26.0, 158.5, 175.0, 191.0 grs.

S. : .6″, 1.0″, 1.1″ (2 coins).

Ref. : *BMC, AI,* p. 271, nos. 55-75a. Pl. XI. 11.

Variety (d)

II. B. I. d.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya—the outer row of heads has crests, standing and facing, holding spear in right hand, and left arm resting on hip.

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Rev. : Goddess standing and facing; tree-in-railing on right.

W. : 129 grs.

S. : .95″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 110, nos. 2-3.

Variety (e)

II. B. I. e.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya—the upper row of 3 has crests, spear standing l.

Rev. : Goddess with radiate head, standing facing, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. Tree-in-railing at right and six arched symbol surmounted by umbrella and *nandipada* (Kala simply describes *chaitya* surmounted by *triratna* but this symbol is perhaps the same as mentioned here).

W. : 92.0 grains.

S. : 1.0″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, Pl. 11. no. 4.

Variety (f)

II. B. I. f.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing.

Rev. : Goddess; Tree-in-railing at right and six-arched symbol at left; Circular mark below arched symbol on left.

W. : 109.0 grs.

S. : .95″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, pp. 111. no. 11.

Variety (g)

II. B. I. g.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya.

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Rev. : Single-headed goddess, radiate, tree-in-railing right ; wide blank margin.

W. : 148.8 grs.

S. : 1.07″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 182, no. 16.

Group B:

The coins of this group are further divided into six varieties :

Variety (a)

II. 2. B. a.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing on lotus, facing; with left hand on hip, and right hand raised, towards spear.

Rev. : Six-headed goddess standing on lotus, facing, tree-in-railing right; six-arched with umbrella and *nandipada* left and wavy line below (the last is not mentioned by Smith).

W. : 165.7 grs.

S. : 1.0″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 181, no. 8, Pl. XXI, 15 ; Dasgupta Class III, Variety *B*, 113. *a*.

Variety (b)

II. 2. B. b.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, with right hand raised towards spear which stands obliquely in the field, left hand on hip.

Rev. : Six-headed goddess standing facing, right hand raised, left hand on hip ; tree-in-railing and six-arched hill with umbrella and *nandipada*.

W. : 132.5, 153.0, 164.5, 167. 2 grs.

S. : 1.0″ (2 coins), 1.02″, 1.05″.

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Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 181, no. 10-13, Pl. XXI. 16 ; Dasgupta's Class II Variety *B*, 113 *b*.

Variety (*c*)

II. 2. B. c.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing on pedestal, facing.

Rev. : Six-headed goddess standing on bent line, facing, right hand raised, left hand on hip; below her feet a tree lying on its side ; to right tree-in-railing; *svastika* above it.

W. : 159.3 grs.

S. : 1.12″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 181, no. 9.

Variety (*d*)

II. 2. B. d.

Obv. : As variety *b*.

Rev. : As variety *b* but tree left and arched symbol right.

W. : 174.5. grs.

S. : 1.07″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 181, no. 14.

Variety (*e*)

II. 2. B. e.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya grasping spear ; vase in right field.

Rev : Six-headed goddess standing on lotus, facing; tree-in-railing right; six-arched symbols with umbrella and *nandipada* on left.

W. : 178.5 grs.

S. : 1.1″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 182, no. 15, Pl. XXI. 7; Dasgutpa's Class III, Variety *B*, 113, *c*.

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Variety (f)

II. 2. B. f.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya grasping spear.

Rev : Six-headed goddess; tree right; six-arched symbol left; wavy line (Smith calls snake or river) below.

W. : 172.5 grs.

S. : 1.1″.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 182, no. 17.

III. Goddess : Kārttikeya Type.

The coins of this type may be classified into two varieties.

Variety (a)

III. a.

Obv. : Goddess (Cunningham calls six-headed figure) standing facing, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing; six-arched symbol at left; Allan does not seem to be right in identifying it as three arched symbol in railing surmounted *nandipada* tree-in-railing at right (Following Allan, Dasgupta wrongly mentions the former at right and latter, at left); *Svastika* above tree (this is not noticed by the numismatist).

W. : 158.0 grs.

S. : 1.0″.

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, pp. 272, no. 62, Pl. XL .10 (*CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI. 11).

Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *E*.

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Variety (b)

III. b.

Obv. : Goddess, standing; and three arched symbol at left. (Besides goddess, Kala describes further as "Chaitya on left', other symbols and legend indistinct.")

Rev. : Indistinct.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII (I), p. 48, no. 2, Pl. VI; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *H*.

IV. Kārttikeya : Śiva Type

The type may be described as follows :—

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, with right hand raised towards spear and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Three-headed Śiva standing, facing, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip; hill at left and tree-in-railing at right.

W. : 153.0 grs.

S. : 1.0".

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, pp. 111, no. 12, Pl. X ; Dasgupta's Class 3 Variety *J*.

V. Kārttikeya: Deer Type

The specimens of this type are found in good numbers. They have the figure of Kārttikeya on the obverse and the animal on the reverse. But considering the difference in the shape of the figure of the god represented, on the obverse, these coins are further classified into two classes ; and there is a coin of this type, on which the obverse device is indistinct, and, therefore, it is kept in a separate class.

A. Single-headed Kārttikeya.

B. Six-headed Kārttikeya.

C. Indistinct.

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Class A :

The issues of this class bear animal on their reverse. This reverse device is considered as deer by Cunningham and others, except Smith who identifies it as stag. On a few coins this animal is represented twice. Hence on the basis of the reverse motifs these coins are divided into two groups. :

1. Single Deer,
2. Double Deer.

Group 1 :

All the pieces of single-headed Kārttikeya of the single deer group bear deer standing to right. This may again be classified into four varieties according to the variations in the representation of the symbols :

Variety (*a*)

V. A. I. a.

Obv. : Standing, probaly, one-headed Kārttikeya, holding spear in his right hand and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Deer standing to right, below water or a river and its grassy bank represented by vertical lines and the deer seems to be standing in water, a vase (Smith identifies as crescent) above, probably tree-in-railing left (according to P. Banerjee "it may be a tree"—*JNSI*, XIV, p. 45 ; it is also held by Dasgupta—*op. cit.*, p. 205 ; Altekar writes in editor's note : "It is described as tree-in-railing in *BMC, AI*, p. 273"—*ibid*, p. 45, fn. 4. ; we can add here that tree alone does not seem to occur on any coin of this series); wavy line below.

W. : 116.3 grs.

S. : 1.0″.

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Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 182, no. 19; *JNSI*, XIV, Pl. III. 25; Dasgupta's Class 4 Variety *B*.

Variety (*b*)

V. A. I. b.

Obv. : Kārttikeya standing, facing, holding spear.

Rev. : Deer standing to right; Tree-in-railing at right; arched symbol at left; building above.

W. : 114 grs.

S. : 1.05".

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 111, nos. 19-20.

Variety (*c*)

V. A.I. c.

Obv. : Kārttikeya, standing, pointing with uplifted right hand to a cock-standard (?).

Nautiyal says that "the Kārttikeya identified here is, quite unlike the other coins. It looks more a geometrical device rather than a human form. The cause of the distortion may have been due to the bad preservation of the coin. If it is not so, it can be taken a significant symbol carrying some meaning of its own." (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 383).

Rev. : Deer standing to right; tree-in-railing at right; arched symbol at left and vase above.

W. : 144 grs.

S. : 9.0".

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, pp. 111, nos. 25, Pl. X.

Variety (*d*)

V. A.I.d.

Obv. : Traces of Kārttikeya.

Rev. : Deer standing to right before building having a round base.

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W. : 115.0 grs.

S. : 1.0″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 96.

Group 2:

V. A. 2.

Obv. : Kārttikeya standing, facing, holding spear in right hand.

Rev. : Two deers standing, showing one above the other; vase above.

W. : 151.05 grs.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, no. 7, Pl. VI ; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *H*.

Class B :

The coins of the six-headed Kārttikeya/single Deer class may again be divided into two groups as follows :

1. Deer standing to right.
2. Deer standing to left.

Group 1:

The specimens of this group can further be classified into five varieties.

Variety (a)

V. B. I. a.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing, facing, holding spear in his right hand and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Deer to right; six-arched symbol with umbrella at right; Tree-in-railing at left; vase; *svastika* and double *naga* symbol ( ) above; and,

W. : 115.0, 122.0, 139.0, 144.0, 146.0 grs.

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S. : 95.0″, (2 coins) 1.0″ (2 coins) I.1″.

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 273, no. 63-67, Dasgupta's Class 4 Variety *A*.

Variety (b)

V. B. I. b.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear.

Rev. : Deer right; tree in-railing at left; arched symbol at right; and below unidentified symbol.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, no. 1, Pl. VI.

Variety (c)

V. B. I. c.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya with 6 crests, standing, facing, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Deer standing to right; tree-in-railing at left; and arched symbol at right.

W. : 96.0 grs.

S. : .95.0″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 111, no. 46, Pl. X.

Variety (d)

V. B. 1. d.

Obv. : Six-headed figure of Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear in right hand and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Deer standing to right (Smith writes 'quadruped') probably a religious shrine above the deer (Smith identifies it as shrine, with curved roof; P. Banerjee takes it as 'a vase more or less of a crude shape' which 'has a ring or handle at either side, and some decorative lines on its body,

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and a plant is coming out of its mouth'—*JNSI*, XIV, pp. 45-6 ; Dasgupta also holds the latter view—*op. cit*, p. 206; Altekar writes in editor's note that it does not appear on any coin of the *British Museum Catalogue*, *JNSI*, XIV, p. 46, fn. ; but the object is drawn more than the height of the animal and hence it may not be taken as a vase).

W. : 119.5 grs.

S. : 1.07.

Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 82, no. 20 ; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *C*.

Variety (*e*)

V. B. I. e. :

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear in right hand and left hand resting on hip.

Rev. : Deer to right before building. (Altekar also accepts it as 'a kind of building', *JNSI*, XIV, p. 46, fn.; but Dasgupta refers to it with doubt). Six-arched symbol with umbrella at left and vase above. Legend *darma* above deer.

W. : 132.0 ; 172.4.

S. : .95.0″, 1.0″.

Ref. : *BMC*, *AI*, p. 275, nos. 77-78, Pl. XL. 12; Dasgupta's Class 4, variety *G*.

Variety (*f*)

V. B. I. f.

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya with 6 crests, standing, facing.

Rev. : Deer standing to right before an incomplete building. Legend *darma* above deer.

W. : 115.0 grs.

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S. : 1.0″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 95.

Group 2:

The coins of this group can also be divided into four varieties.

Variety (*a*)

V. B. 2. a. :

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, with right hand raised, left hand resting on hip, spear standing on right bound with fillet.

Rev. : Deer left ; tree-in-railing at right; six arched symbol surmounted by umbrella and *nandipada* at left (Following Allan, Dasgupta takes it as a three-arched symbol in railing surmounted by a *nandipada*); double *nāga* symbol and vase above.

W. : 126.0 grs.

S. : 1.0″.

Ref : *BMC, AI*, p. 273, no. 68, Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *D*.

Variety (*b*)

V. B. 2. b.

Obv. : As preceding.

Rev : Deer left ; and vase above deer.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, no. 4, Pl. VI.

Variety (*c*)

V. B. 2. c.

Obv. : As preceding.

Rev. : Deer left; six arched symbol with umbrella and tree-in-railing above deer ; wavy line below.

W. : 91.0, 93.0, 113.0, 121.0.

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S. : 9.0″ (2 coins), 1.0″ (2 coins).

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 274, nos. 69-72 ; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *E*.

Variety (*d*)

V. B. 2. d.

Obv. : As preceding.

Rev. : Deer left; tree-in-railing at right; six-arched symbol with umbrella surmounted by *nandipada* at left; double *nāga* symbol drawn horizontally,

, *Svastika* and vase above.

W. : 71.0, 75.0, 80.0, 104.0 grs.

S. : 9.0″ (2 coins), .95″ (2 coins).

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 274, no. 73-76; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *F*.

Class C:

V. C.

Obv. : Indistinct figure.

Rev. : Deer right; arched symbol on right; vase above.

Ref. : *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, no. 5, Pl. VI.

VI. Kārttikeya: Bull Type

The type may be described as follows :

Obv. : Traces of Kārttikeya standing.

Rev. : Bull standing to right; tree-in-railing at right; and arched symbol at left.

W. : 107.0 grs.

S. : .85″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 111, no. 63, Pl X ; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *J*.

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VII. Kārttikeya: Ass Type

It may be referred to as follows:

Obv. : Traces of Kārttikeya standing.

Rev. : Ass standing to right on some round object; tree-in-railing on right; and, arched symbol on left.

W. : 142.0 grs.

S. : .90″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 64, Pl. X; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *K*.

VIII. Kārttikeya: Horse Type

This may be recorded as follows :—

Obv. : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear in right hand and resting left arm on hip.

Rev. : Horse (Kala at one place writes it with the mark of interogation ; it may also be considered as Pony) standing; three arched symbol on right; and, tree-in-railing left.

W. : 122.0 grs.

S. : .95″.

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 74, Pl. X; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *I*.

IX. Śiva: Deer Type

The specimens of this type are divided into two varieties on the basis of the change in the direction of the animal face represented on reverse.

Variety (*a*)

IX.a.

Obv. : Single-headed Śiva, standing, facing, holding trident in his right hand, and left hand resting on hip.

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Rev. : Deer standing right before six-arched symbol with umbrella.

W. : 152.5 grs.

S. : 96.0".

Ref. : *BMC, Al*, p. 275, no. 79. Pl. XL. 13; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *M*.

Variety (*b*)

IX.b.

Obv. : Single headed Śiva, standing, facing, holding trident.

Rev. : Deer standing to left; arched symbol on left.

W. : 159.0 grs.

S. : .90".

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 85, Dasgupta's Class 4 Variety *L*.

X. Leopard Type

The type may be described as follows :—

Obv. : Mutilated.

Rev. : Leopard standing to l.

W. : 82 grs.

S. : 9.0"

Ref. : *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 104; Dasgupta's Class 4, Variety *N*.

II

Cunningham took these coins to have been minted by a king named Brahmaṇyadeva. And, on the basis of the discovery of a silver coin with a similar legend, containing the tribal name Yaudheya, and the type, he considers, him to be 'a Brahmanical chief of the Yaudheyas, and 'a worshipper of Bhagavat'.[44] Rapson[45] and Smith[46] also accept it.

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The latter also holds that Kumāra 'may be the name of a chief distinct from Brahmaṇyadeva'.[46a] But Jayaswal[47] rightly suggests that the issuers 'give the representation of God Kārttikeya, the presiding deity of Heroism and war and name him'. Chakrabortty also endorses that "here Brahmaṇyadeva is not the name of a king. It is surely the national god *Kārttikeya*, the wargod, to whom the warlike Yaudheyas dedicated their coins. Whatever doubt we might have is set at rest by the substitution of *Kumārasa*, another name of *Kārttikeya* for Brahmaṇyadevasya in some of the coins."[48] Allan[49], discussing the silver coin of the Yaudheyas, observes that "the name of the tribe on this coin enables us to attribute the extensive series of copper coins with similar types and inscription to the Yaudheyas."[50] This view is adhered to by all the subsequent scholars.

These copper coins have 'fragmentary legends' since they are of a very rough workmanship. Hence, it has to be restored after a careful study of various specimens. Chakrabortty reads the legend as '*Bhāgavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya*' and translates it as 'coin of (dedicated to) Almighty Lord Brahmaṇyadeva.' He also adds that sometimes *Kumārasa* (we read *Kumārasya*) is put in place of '*Brahmaṇyadevasya*.'[51] But herein the word *Kumārasa* (or *sya*) is not the substitute of *Brahmaṇyadevasya* but is used in union. Allan rightly restores both these words together in the legend which, in his view runs as *Bhāgavata-svāmino-Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa*) *Kumārasya* (*sa*). He renders it as 'of Kumāra the devine lord Brahmaṇyadeva'.[52] Banerjea feels that the first word of the legend "is really *Bhagavata*(*ḥ* or *to*) meaning 'of the holy or worshipful one".[53] Further, to him, "some of the better preserved coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, have distinct *Bhagavata* (*ḥ* or *to*)". Hence he takes the full legend as "*Bhagavata* (*ḥ* or *to*) *svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa*) *Kumārasya* (or *sa*) which would mean 'of (really, 'coin of') the worshipful lord Brahmaṇya deva Kumāra."[54] K. K. Dasgupta mentions it as *Bhagavata-svā-*

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mino-Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya[55] and gives its English version as 'of the divine lord Brahmaṇyadeva(*alias*) Kumāra.'[56] However, he does not seem to be very clear on the reading of the first word of the legend because at the same place he also subscribes to the view of Banerjea 'on a personal examination of these coins'.[57] The fact is that he is not serious about such a different reading as he himself in the case of the legend of the Yaudheya silver coin writes that such 'different readings, however, do not make any substantial change in the meaning'.[58] We know well that these coins are in a bad state of preservation and the legends on the individual pieces are highly fragmentary in nature and as such the non-occurrence of the vowel-stroke must not be taken as an evidence to prove the first word of the legend as *Bhagavata* instead of *Bhāgavata*. Again we often find the vowel absent on the contemporary currencies.[59] Further, the word *Bhāgavata* (must not only be interpreted as 'a devotee of the Bhagavat', but also as 'the worshipful one'. Therefore, the latter meaning suits here best because of the fact that this term occurs in company with the name Brahmaṇyadeva. Benerjea himself quotes "such well known terms found in very early Indian literature and inscriptions as *Śiva-Bhāgavata, Bhāgavaten Gājāyanena...Pārāśariputreṇa, Parama-Bhāgavata* etc."[60] As regards the amendment suggested in the reading of the inscription as *Bhagavataḥ* (or *to*) in place of *Bhagavata* by Banerjea it can be put forth that on only one of the illustrated specimens of the Indian Museum (Pl. XXI. 16) the last portion of this word is clear. And there two dots representing the *Visarga* mark can be noticed after the alphabet *ta*. Again, this part of the word in question is fairly visible on two of the illustrated pieces of the British Museum. On one of them (Pl. XX. 11), the *Visarga* sign, whose one of the two dots noted in between the upper limbs of the letter *ta* and *sa*—the latter is the first alphabet of the word *Svāmi*, and the other beneath the left limb of the letter *ta* can be traced out. But on the second illustrated

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coin of the British Museum (Pl. XL. 10), the portion, whereon the left limb of the character *ta* is engraved, is blurred and hence the mark under discussion can not be noticed manifestly. Therefore this word can be made out as *Bhāgavataḥ*. On a coin (*IMC*, XXI. 16), the letter *bha* is preceded by *ya* which seems to be the second part of the conjunct *sya* that is evidently the last constituent of the word *Kumārāsya*. Perhaps *deva* also terminated with *-sya*. Thus the entire legend can be pronounced as *Bhāgavataḥ Svāmino-Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*. And, it may be rendered into English as (a coin) 'of Kumāra, (and) of the worshipful lord Brahmaṇyadeva'. Banerjea holds: 'In both the cases the genitive case-ending of the name of the divinity and of the attributive epithet *svāmī*...shows that the coins were issued in the name of the deity."[61] But to us it appears that they were minted in the joint names of the tribe and the god.

Smith also deciphers the word *drama* in between *devasya* and *Bra(hma)ṇa*, i. e. *devasya drama Bra(hma)ṇa*,[62] on the obverse of a coin and for this he writes: "The word *drama* seems quite clear, but I can not explain it."[63] Chakrabortty observes that in a few of these coins, the legends end in words like *drama, dama* or *darma*," and takes it as "a variant of the Greek word-drachm, singifying here 'a coin'." He corrects the legend as '*Brahmaṇyadevasya drama*' and renders it as "the coin of *Brahmaṇyadeva*."[64] But it is not justified to put the word *drama* at the end of the legend which is inscribed in its middle. R. C. Agrawala also rejects the proposed reading because *drama* (he spels out *dramma*) on these coins "appears to be misreading for the word *Kumāra*."[65] Against the sugestion of Agrawala it is to be pointed out that the word *Kumārasya* (or *sa*) occurs after *devasya* in the legend but no where in between *devasya* and *Brahmaṇya*. Recently the legend on the coin in question is read by Jaya Goswami as *ṇya devasya drama tṛi*. She also notices that "in this legend there is no scope for the occurrence of the word *Kumārasya*."[66] The readings cannot be verified

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because none of them illustrate the coin. However, relying upon the present reading it can be said that since the word *tri* only occurs on the Yaudheya coins, this specimen too, in all probability, belongs to the Yaudheyas.

Some of the coins with the legend *Kumāra* contain marks on the left top corner of the reverse. They are identified by Cunningham as the letters *darma*.[66a] Allan also reads them as *drama* and which, for him, stands "for *dharma*."[67] But again, this reading is doubted by P. L. Gupta[68]. R. C. Agrawala also points out: "Besides this, the type (described by Chakrabortty) as having the word *Brahmaṇya-devasya drama*, is a copper one while *dramma*, in its original source denoted a silver currency. It was derived from the Greek silver *drachma*. Hence it does not seem plausible to read any reference to *dramma* on" these coins.[69] Against this Jai Prakash Singh writes; "This is merely evading the real issue. If the reading of the word *drama* is correct, as it seems to be, the word must have been used to style it as a copper *dramma* or merely a coin. As the copper pieces were not coins of the Greek *drachma* variety, their being called as such is very significant. It shows that *drama* or *draman* in about 2nd century A.D. was popularly used to denote a coin irrespective of its metal."[70] Dasgupta is not sure on the correct reading as his statement shows, "*dharma* or *dramma* (from Greek *drachma*), the latter being a coin denomination of foreign origin." The[71] reason of the reference of the word *dharma* only on a few pieces has to be explained. Nevertheless, even if the marks drawn above the deer are considered to be the alphabets, they can almost be identified as *darma* and not *drama* and this cannot be equated with drachma but with *dharma*. But the identification of the signs as alphabets appears to be highly doubtful for two reasons: *firstly*, the marks supposed to be *da* and *rma* are not drawn in uniform thickness; and, *secondly*, there are two more strokes, one of them has the shape of the interogation mark, which starts near the right of the base line, of the so-

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called letter *ma* and touches the back of the animal and the other is a horizontal line that is drawn over the head of the left arm of the supposed letter in question and as such they suggest that all the marks are the part of a symbol. Again, the Greek drachma is spelt out as *drama* on the obverse of a Yaudheya coin, referred to above, and not as *darma*.

The legend of the silver coin of the Yaudheyas is deciphered by Allan as *Bhāgavata·sv(ā)min(o) Brahmaṇya Ɣ(au)dheya*[72] but elsewhere he writes: "A space between *ṇya* and *Ɣau* suggests we should supply *sa* from the copper coins. The legend should then be read" as "*Ɣaudheya·bhāgavata-svamino Brahmaṇya* (*sa* or *sya*)." He translates it as "of Bramaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of the Yaudheyas."[73] According to the latter legend-arrangement, the word Yaudheya does not represent it as a noun but qualifies to Brahmaṇya. Rapson reads it *Bhagavata Svamiṇa Brahmaṇya [Deva] Ɣaudheya--*.[74] It may be pointed out here that there is room for more than one letter in between *Brahmaṇya* and *Ɣaudheya* and that part is broken and so the word *devas* on the analogy of these copper coins can be supplemented. And we can restore the legend as *Bhāgavata(or ḥ) Svāmino Brahmaṇya(deva) Ɣaudheya* (*sya*) and can be translated as (coin) of Yaudheya (and) the worshipful lord Brahmaṇya(deva).

Thus the legends on the Yaudheya silver coin and the specimens in question, besides the grammatical peculiarities appear to be the same except with a change in the last word which is *Ɣaudheya* on the former and *Kumāra* on the latter. And here the word *Kumāra* is considered by all the scholars as another name of Kārttikeya. But the identical legend-pattern adopted on the Yaudheya silver coin and these copper coins is indicative of the fact that both these words were used on the same line. Further, it seems somewhat strange that on one place Kārttikeya is called by the name Brahmaṇya and on other, by two names Brahmaṇya

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and Kumāra and that, too, the second at the cost of the tribal name Yaudheya. Therefore, the word Kumāra which occurred on the copper coins may be taken as the tribal name like Yaudheya used on the silver coin.

The historicity of the Kumāra tribe is proved by the ancient texts. It is mentioned in the Purāṇas, although the tribe referred to therein belonged to a different stock since their kingdom was situated in Suvarṇabhūmi and was watered by Halādinī river.[75] Again in the *Mahābhārata* the king of the Kumāra country is said to have been defeated by Bhīma in his digvijaya and here the Kumāra is mentioned alongwith the ruler of Kosala.[76] "That chastiser of all foes then vanquished king Śrenimat of the country of Kumāra, and then Vṛihadvala, the king of Koshala."[77] But this epic definitely refers to the Kumāras alongwith the Kāshmiras, Ghorakas, Hansakāyanas, Śibis, Trigartas, and the Yaudheyas:[78] "The Kairātas, the Daradas, the Dārvas, the Śuras, the Vaimakas, the Audumbaras, the Durvibhāgas, the Pāradas alongwith the Vāhlīkas, the Kāshmiras, the Kumāras, the Ghorakas, the Hansakāyanas, the Śibis, the Trigartas, the Yaudheyas,... these good and well born Kshatriyas distributed into regular clans and trained to the use of arms brought tribute unto king Yudhishṭhira by hundreds and thousands."[78]

Thus in the light of the testimony of the literature the historicity of the Kumāras may be accepted and these copper coins can be ascribed to them. However, in respect of this attribution, there are two points, namely the use of the word Kumāra in singular and the typological sameness occurring on the Yaudheya silver coin and the coins in question, which may be put forth as the arguments against our suggestion.

In respect of the first, it may be recalled here that there are various tribal names, i.e. the Audumbaras, Vemakas, Kulūtas and Kuṇindas which occur on the coins

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in the singular form—e.g. *Mahadevasa raña* (the name of the chief) *Odumbarisa, Rājno Vamakisa Rudravarmasa, Vīrayaśasya rājña Kulūtasya, Rājñaḥ Kuṇindasya Amoghabhūtisya Mahārājasya.* However, even if it is argued that these are the instances wherein the tribal nomenclature occurs alongwith the name of the chief as such they represented a person of a tribe but there are other examples such as the names of Kadas, and Upagodas which are mentioned on the metalic pieces as *Kaḍasa* and *Upagodasa.*[79] Besides, we remember well that the Yaudheyas themselves inscribed their name in singular on their silver money. So it is not unlikely that sometimes the tribal chiefs were known like some of the tribal dominions, by the tribal or clan names or the tribal people addressed themselves simply is the tribe-name and hence used their name in singular.

In connection with the second point, it can be recalled here that out of 11, only one type (Kārttikeya/Goddess) bears sameness with the Yaudheya silver coin. Again, none of these types is met on the entire Yaudheya copper coinage. Further, the deer, the tree-in-railing of identical shape, six-arched symbol surmounted by umbrella and *nandipada, Svastika,* vase and the *nāga* symbol also occur on the Kuṇinda currency; and, if the typological criterion alone is considered as a strong and forceful evidence for the determination of a family or clan of a person, the adoption of the various symbols of the Kuṇinda money on these copper coins connects them with the Kuṇindas in some way. But we have instances from the coinage-system of this period itself where rulers of different dynasties or clans used the symbol or type—the Indo-Greek king Zoilus II, king Mahādeva of Eastern Punjab, the Audumbaras and the Vemakas adopted combined trident-battle-axe on their coins and again Mahādeva and the Vemakas employed the same type for their metalic issues[80]; and none of them were related. Therefore, it appears that the sameness or nearness in typology or symbology may not always be taken as an evidence

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to decide the lineage of a person. It is also indicative of the locality for the circulation of his money.

Thus, these copper coins may be attributed to the Kumāra tribe who are also known from the ancient texts and whose historicity is hither-to unknown. This tribe probably flourished in the 1st century A. D. and ruled over the teritories covering the present Dehradun and Garhwal districts and some parts of the Yaudheya dominion. The representation of the war-god Kārttikeya and his reference in writing on the coins of the Kumāras also reveals that they carved out their state in the highly critical political conditions. The adoption of coin devices of the Kumāras by the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas suggests that the Kumāras were ousted by these tribes from the above areas.

TABLE I

(Weights of the coins in grains)

26.00	×	116.30	×
30.00	×	119.50	×
71.00	×	121.00	×
75.00	×	122.00	× × ×
80.00	×	126.00	×
82.00	×	128.00	×
		129.00	×
91.00	×	130.05	×
92.00	×		
93.00	×	132.00 }	× }
96.00	×	132.50 }	× }
		139.00	×
104.00	×		
107.00	×	140.20	×
109.00	×	141.00	×
113.00	×	142.00	× ×
114.00	×	143.00	×
		144.00	× ×
115.00	× × ×	146.00	×

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148.80	×	166.00	×
		167.20	×
151.05	×		
152.50	×	172.40 }	× }
153.00	× ×	172.50 }	× }
154.50	×	174.50	×
158.00 }	× }	175.00	×
158.50 }	× }	178.50	×
159.00 }	× }		
159.30 }	× }	180.00	×
160.00	× ×		
164.50	×	191.00	×
165.70	×	195.00	×

TABLE II

(Size in Inch)

0.60	2	3.22%	1.05	4	6.45%
0.85	1	1.61%	1.07	3	4.83%
0.90	8	12.90%	1.10	5	8.06%
0.95	11	17.74%	1.12	1	1.61%
0.96	1	1.61%	1.20	1	1.61%
1.00	25	40.32%			

References

1. *CASRS*, XIV. pp. 143-4 ; *CAI*, pp. 78-79.
2. *IMC*, I, pp. 181-82.
3. *BMC, AI ;* pp. 270-75.
4. *JNSI*, II, pp. 109-12.
5. Above, XVIII (1), pp. 46-48.
6. *CAI*, p. 46.
7. *AIN*, p. 54.
8. *JNSI*, XII (2), p. 195.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *CAI*, p. 79.
11. *IMC*, I, p. 165.

11A. *JNSI*, XXVIII (2), p. 201.

12. *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 219.
13. *JNSI*, V, p. 30.
14. *JNSI*, XXIX (1), p. 8.
15. *AIN*, p. 223.
16. *BMC, AI*, p. cl.

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17. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 141.
18. *JNSI*, XVIII, (1), p. 47.
19. *JNSI*, V, pp. 29ff.
20. *Mahabharata*, III. 195.6.
21. Above, III. 195.8.
22. *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, pp. 93 f.
23. *JNSI*, XXIX (1), pp. 5ff.
24. *DHI*, p. 384 fn. 1.
25. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 181ff.
26. *THAI*, pp. 221-2.
27. It is suggested by him, while referring to the occurrence of deer (in the earlier work he mentions simply deer and later, deer or stag) on the coins of the Kuṇindas, *DHI*, p. 134, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 45.
28. *THAI*, p. 222.
29. III. 218.47.
30. Cf. *JNSI*, XXXVIII (1), p. 110.
31. *THAI*, p. 222.
32. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 383.
33. *THAI*, p. 222.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *BMC, AI*. pp. 272 ff.
36. *THAI*, pp. 204, 206, 222.
37. *BMC, AI*, pl. XXIX. 21.
38. *JASB*, XV, p. 165.
39. *BMC, AI*, p. ci.
40. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 45.
41. *THAI*, p. 223.
42. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 46.
43. *JHAI*, p. 204.
44. *CASR*, XIV, p. 143.
45. *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291.
46. *IMC*, I, p. 181 fn. 2.
46a. *Ibid.*, p. 182 fn.
47. *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 150.
48. *AIN*, p. 223.
49. Allan's work, although published later than the books of Jayaswal and Chakrabortty, does not refer to them.
50. *BMC, AI*, cxlix.
51. *AIN*, p. 223.
52. *BMC, AI*, p cl.
53. *JNSI*, XIII (2), pp. 160 ff.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

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55. *THAI*, p. 214.
56. *Ibid*, p. 216.
57. *Ibid*, fn. 63.
58. *Ibid*, p. 216.
59. Vide my paper, 'Mahādeva–A ruler of Eastern Punjab', to be published elsewhere.
60. *JNSI*, XIII (2), p. 162.
61. *DHI*, p. 142.
62. *IMC*, I, p. 128., no. 18b.
63. *Ibid*. fn. 1.
64. *AIN*, pp. 223-4.
65. *JNSI*, XVII (2), p. 65ff.
66. Above, XXVIII (1), p. 113.
66a. *CAI*, p. 78.
67. *BMC, AI*, p. cl.
68. *JNSI*, XVII (2), p. 65
69. *JNSI*, XVII (2), p. 65.
70. Above, XVII (2), p. 66.
71. *THAI*, p. 217.
72. *BMC, AI*, p. 270.
73. *BMC, AI*, p. cvlvii.
74. *SIHC*, Key to Plate III.
75. केरलानुष्ट्र कर्णाश्च किरातानपि चैव हि ।
कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च कुमारान् स्वर्णभूषितान् ॥
सामण्डले समुद्रस्य तिरौभूताऽनुपूर्वतः ।
ततस्तु पावनी भैव प्राचीमेव दिशं गता ॥
ततश्चह्लादिनो पुण्या प्राचीमभिमुखा ययौ ।
प्लावयन्त्युपभागाश्चं नेषधांश्च त्रिगर्तकान् ॥
वायु पूर्वार्ध 47/52/54

धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव तथा नीलमुखानपि ।
केकरा नौष्ट्रकर्णाश्च किरातानपि चैवहि ॥
कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च कुमारान् स्वर्णभूमिकान् ।
आमण्डलं समुद्रस्य तिरोभूतांश्च पूर्वतः ॥
ब्रह्माण्ड पूर्वार्ध 2 18/54-55

76. ततः कुमार विषये श्रेणिमन्त मताजयत् ।
कोसलाधिपति चैव बृहद्बल मरिन्दमेः ॥
Poona Edition, Sabhāparva, 31-1.
77. P. C. Roy, *Mahābhārata*, (Poona Edition) Sabhāparva, 31.1. Translation, 1883, Sabhāparva, Section XXX, p, 85.

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78. कैरात दरदा दार्वाः शूरा वैयमकास्तथा ।
औदुम्बरा दुर्विभागाः पारदा बाल्हिकैः सह ॥१३॥
काश्मीराश्च कुमाराश्च घोरका हंसकायनाः ।
शिबित्रिगर्त यौधेया राजन्या भद्रकेकयाः ॥१४॥
अम्बष्ठाः कौकुरास्ताक्ष्र्या वस्त्रपाः पल्हवैः सह ।
वशातलाश्च मौलेयाः सह क्षुद्रकमालवैः ॥१५॥
पौड्रिकाः कुकराश्चैव शकाश्चैव विशांपते ।
अङ्गा वङ्गाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च शाणवत्या गयास्तथा ॥१६॥
सुजातयः श्रेणिमन्तः श्रेयांसः शस्त्रधारिणः ।
अहार्षुः क्षत्रिया वित्तं शतशोऽजातशत्रवे ॥१७॥

Poona Edition, Sabhāparva, 52.

कापव्या दरदा दर्वाः शूरावैयमकास्तथा ॥cd ८८
औदुम्बरा दुर्विभागा द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः
काश्मीराश्च कुमाराश्च गौरका हंसकास्तथा ॥ ८९
शिबित्रैर्गतयौधेया राजन्या मद्रकैः सह ।
वसुतेयाः समौलेया दाहक्षुद्रकमालवैः ॥ ९०
चौण्डिकाश्चौदकाश्चैव साल्वाश्चैव विशांपते ।
अङ्गवङ्गाश्च यवना अनवद्या गयैः सह ॥ ९१
सुजातयः श्रेणिमन्तः श्रेयांसः शस्त्रधारिणः ।
आहार्षुः क्षत्रिया वित्तं शतशोऽजातशत्रवे ॥ ९२

Bombay Edition, Sabhāparva, 78.

But in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, published from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, the first two *ślokas* are mentioned as follows :

कायव्या दरदा दार्वाः शूरा वैयमकास्तथा ।
औदुम्बरा दुर्विभागाः पारदा बाह्लिकैः सह ॥१२
काश्मीराः कुन्दमानाश्च पौरका हंसकायना ।
शिबित्रिगर्त यौधेया राजन्या मद्रकेकया ॥१३

Here we find that the word *Kundamāna* is accepted in place of *Kumāra* but the latter is transfered in the collation of the manuscripts which is given at the foot. However, we can put forth that the word *Kumāra* occurs in most of the manuscripts. We can also point out that *Kumāra* is incorporated in the text of all the other editions of the *Mahābhārata*. Hence in view of these facts this word can be accepted as *Kumāra*.

79. *BMC, AI*, pp. 122ff.
80. Cf. my paper, 'Mahādeva—A, ruler of Eastern Punjab'.

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XIII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE AGRAS, ĀRJUNĀYANAS AND KULŪTAS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

1. The Agras

A group of copper coins with devices like tree, Lakshmī, bull, lion and composite animal (on two occasions only) and generally bearing in early Brāhmī characters, the legend: *agodaka* (or *-e*) *agāchajanapadasa*, i. e., *agrodakāt* (or *agrodake*) *agratyajanapadasaya* is to be attributed to a tribe named Agra on the assumption that *agratya* is equivalent to *agācha*, which means 'people of Agra'.[1] Most of them were recovered from the Punjab, the noted findspots being Agroha and Barwala (the former now included in Hariyana). It appears from the discovery of as many as 51 coins during the course of excavations at Agroha that in days of yore there was a flourishing *janapada* named Agra whose chief city appears to have been known as *Agrodaka*, in the region of the village of Agroha. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the antiquity of Agroha is vouchsafed not only by coins found in a definite archaeological stratum but also by a large number of archaeological remains found in the region, comprising of pottery, terracotta, copper objects, fragments of stone sculptures, plaques and seals[2]. Apart from these old relics, Moslem historians like Ziau'-d Din Barani[3], Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif,[4] and Ibn-i-Baṭuṭa[5] tend to show the antiquity of the place.

The name of the *janapada*, as seen from the above noted coin legends was Agra, for the word *agratya* in the legends means 'an inhabitant of the Agra country'. Agra was the name of the tribe as well. The earliest reference to this tribe is found in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, which may be placed in the fifth century B. C.[6] The grammarian uses

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both *agra*[7] and its derivative form,[8] the former as the name of a people. The word *agrāyanas* as connected with Agra is also referred to by Baudhāyana[9] and Patañjali[10]. *Āgreya*, evidently derived from Agra, appears as the name of a tribe mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in association with Bhadras, Rohītakas and Mālavas.[11] The geographical list of the *Mahāmāyūrī*,[12] a Buddhist text belonging to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, refers to Agrodaka, a name which is found in the Prakrit form *Agodaka* on the coins attributed to the Agras. Other notices of this people are met with in the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*,[13] *Kāśikā*[14] and *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.[15] The Agalassoi (Aggalas) of the classical accounts have also been taken as representing the Agras of Agrodaka.[16]

Apart from the common legend *agodaka* (or-*e*) *agāchajanapadasa*, on the coins of the people under study, another legend is sometimes met with. This has been read as *agāchamitrapadābhisa* by Allan[17] and *agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinām* or *agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* by Barnett.[18] They have been translated, in either case, as 'coin of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the *Aggāchas* (Agāchas), i e., *Agratyas* or Agras'. While the legend *Agāchajanapada* appearing on the coins of the Agras appears to show that the Agras were a janapada community like the Rājanyas, Śibis, Trigartas and Vemakas, the other legend *agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinām* (or-*shṭhāyinaḥ*) may be understood as 'the Allied State of the Aggāchas', (i. e. Agras or Agratyas).

Now, the question arises as to why the Agras called themselves an 'Allied State'? An answer to this question is given by Barnett himself. According to him, "the Aggachas may have been admitted into the confederation which was under the hegemony of the Sālvas, for the river Yamunā, on the bank of which some of the Sālvas, at one time dwelt, flows from north to south only some 70 miles due east from Barwala."[19] Though there is no definite evidence to connect the Sālvas with the organisation, the

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idea of a confederacy seems to agree well with the available evidences, numismatic and literary, and their interpretations. An examination of these evidences yields some fruitful results.

Numismatically, the coins of the Agras come close to those of the Mālavas, Rājanyas and Vṛishṇis. On palaeographical grounds they are datable to the second-first century B. C., when the beginnings of the Mālava and Rājanya coinage may be placed. The unique Vṛishṇi coin is later no doubt, but their existence in the said period is proved otherwise. From the standpoint of device and other features, the kinship between the species of these people is almost undeniable. Lion as a device, for instance, is confined prominently to the issues of the Agras and the Rājanyas. This device is found on the unique silver, coin of the Vṛishṇis and perhaps also on a solitary coin of the Śibis, preserved in the Indian Museum. Some copper coins of the Mālavas also bear the lion device.[19a] A further similarity noticed is the representation of a female figure, taken to be a goddess, on the coins of the Agras which resembles that of a deity appearing on the coin of the Rājanyas as well as on some early Mathura[20] coins. In spite of some minor differences, there is a basic similarity in respect of the representation of the deity on these different groups of coins. In several of the Agra coins is to be seen an animal, bull or lion, confined within a rayed circle. This is a feature which is also met with on the Rājanya coinage. Metrologically, the Agra coins come close to the Rājanya species. The Agra coins bear, however, legends only in Brāhmī and, thus, differ, in this respect, from the Rājanya coins which have legends in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī. However, the prominent resemblances between the Agra and the Rājanya coins tend to bring them within the limits of a particular period, viz, second-first century B. C.[21] The conclusion thus arrived at on numismatic

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grounds is compatible with their chronological position arrived at on the basis of inscriptional, literary and other data. Originally or at least, in the age of Alexander, the Agalassoi, the Siboi and the Malloi were neighbours and bore, possibly, similar cultural traits. If the identification of the Agalassoi with the Agras is to be accepted, it will be found that, regionally speaking, these different tribes formed a connected group at a particular period. And, in that confederacy the position of the Agras was a dominant one as shown by the exclusive mention of their name in the coin-legend, *agāchamitrapadā-bhishṭhāyinām* (or-*shṭhāyinaḥ*). It seems that organisations like this were not uncommon in those days when tribes coalesced together for political reasons as will be evident from the case of the Yaudheyas in subsequent days. In the present case, political necessity seems to have arisen when certain tribes found it difficult to fight, single-handed, against the foreign rule in the Panjab in the second and first centuries B. C.[22]

2. The Ārjunāyanas

Coins of the Ārjunāyanas are few in number. All of them are made of copper and round in shape and bear the representations of bull (sometimes humped), elephant, and human figure either simultaneously or separatley. The legend is in Brāhmī and Sanskrit as restored from different specimens as *Ārjunāyanānām jaya*.[23] Allan[24] assigns them on palaeographical grounds, to about 100 B. C. while Rapson[25] ascribes them to either the later part of the first century B. C. or the earlier part of the first century A. D. P. L. Gupta[26] suggests a much later date and observes that "the letters that survive show that they may, be as late as 200 A. D." To my mind, they appear to belong to *c.* 50 B.C.-A. D. 150.[27]

Regarding the antiquity and habitat of the tribe the first definite mention is found in the *Gaṇapāṭha*[28] of Pāṇini. The next reference is contained in the Allahabad pillar inscription[29] of Samudragupta. The said inscription

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mentions the Ārjunāyanas along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Prārjunas and others. Both the Ārjunāyanas and the Prārjunas, as their names indicate, may be believed to have been connected with Arjuna, the third Pāṇḍava.[30] According to the *Mahābhārata*,[31] the Yaudheyas descended from the eldest Pāṇḍava Yudhishṭhira. A similar tradition regarding the Pāṇḍava origin of the Ārjunāyanas may have existed. A close association of the Ārjunāyanas with the Yaudheyas is suggested in the *Bṛihatsamhitā*,[32] which places both the tribes in the same geographical division. The *Mahāmāyūrī*[33] states that a place called Ārjunāvana is presided over by the tutelary yaksha Arjuna. Other literary allusions to the Ārjunāyanas are found in the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*,[34] *Kāśikā*,[35] *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[36] and *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.[37] The *Abhidhānachintamaṇi*[38] of twelfth century refers to a river called Ārjunī which it identifies with the Bāhudā,[39] the name presumably having some connection with the Ārjunāyanas. However, relying on the reference to the Ārjunāyanas in the *Gaṇapāṭha*, we may reasonably conclude that the tribe may have existed at the time of the composition of that work, generally taken to be the fifth century B. C. by scholars. And their coins if assigned to the first century B. C. (some scholars, however, favour a slightly late date, see later), prove that the tribe flourished in the early pre-Christian centuries. The reference to them in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta testifies to their existence as an autonomous State in the fourth century A. D. Although nothing is known about their history after Samudragupta's time, such late works as the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, *Kāśikā*, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* etc. seem to show their acquaintance with the name of the tribe. From the evidence of the coins as well as from the Allahabad pillar inscription it appears that the Ārjunāyanas were neighbours of the tribes like the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, living within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra. The above location seems to be supported by the *Mahāmāyūrī* evidence also.[40] Not much is

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known about the early history of the Ārjunāyanas. In about the middle of the fourth century A. D., as the Allahabad pillar inscription[41] states, the Ārjunāyanas along with the Mālavas, Yaudheyas and others fully gratified the imperious commands of Samudragupta "by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying(his) orders and coming to perform obeisance" *(sarva-kara-dāṇ-ājñākaraṇa-praṇām-āgamana-paritoshita-prachaṇḍa-sāsana-)*. Thus the tribal republics like the Ārjunāyanas were evidently unable to preserve and enjoy complete independence when Samudragupta was spreading the tentacles of his imperialism over the North. It may be conjectured that the Ārjunāyanas and their neighbours remained under the subjection of the Kushāṇas during the time of Kanishka and Huvishka and also probably of Vima. With the decline of the Kushāṇa power they asserted their independence and extended their influence. This seems to have been echoed in their coin-legends indicative of their martial triumphs *(jayaḥ)* over some enemies. The enemies, most probably the Kushāṇas, were ousted from power by constant attacks of Indian peoples like the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas, all of whom, it is interesting to note issued coins with legends ending with the word *jayaḥ*. And perhaps they formed a confederacy against the Kushāṇas. However, if these peoples were not directly responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇas, there seems to be little doubt that they accelerated it. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ārjunāyanas and other allied tribes of India were in power sometimes between the middle of the second century A. D. and the middle of the fourth century A. D.

Before the coming of the Kushānas to power, some tribes in the Punjab and in Rajasthan, such as the Audumbaras, Śibis, Uddehikas, Vemakas and others appear to have held independent principalities as testified to by a fair number of coins issued by them. The existence of such tribal principalities is also attested by literature. Though

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we have no definite proof about an Ārjunāyana territory in the period extending from the fall of the Mauryas (*c.* 187 B. C.) to the first century A.D., the history of the tribe does not go entirely unrepresented, if the *Gaṇpāṭha* evidence is to be related to this period. The absence of the Ārjunāyana coinage definitely assignable to this age perhaps may be accounted for by the fact that they were less important than the Audumbaras, Śibis, Uddehikas and others. Alternatively it may be suggested that the Ārjunāyanas suffered reverses at the hands of the Śakas,[12] as a result of which they had to close their currency, if they had any. The fact that no coins definitely attributable to the Ārjunāyanas in the pre-Christian centuries have so far been discovered is not, however, enough to prove that the tribe did not exist at the time. Hence the supposition of Jayaswal[13] that the Ārjunāyanas as a political community emerged "about Sunga time (200 B. C.)" may not be far from the truth.

3. The Kulūtas

So far twelve coins of the Kulūtas have been found, of which eleven have been recovered from Taxila[14] in course of excavations. The provenance of the other piece, now preserved in the British Museum, is not known[15]. While the Taxilan species are square in shape, the remaining one is round. The corpus of the devices and symbols on them consists of a wheel surrounded by a circle of dots, triangle-headed standard, the so-called Nāga symbol, six-arched hill symbol, circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas* etc. The Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends borne by them on their obverse and reverse sides respectively have disclosed the existence of the four chiefs of the tribe assuming the title *rājan*: Vīrayaśa, Vijayamitra, Satyamitra and Ārya.[16] From the combined testimony of the literature and coins, it appears that they were originally a people of the Punjab to use a wider geographical expression and their memory, survives in the Kullu valley of the Himachal Pradesh.

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Regarding the political condition of the people, it may be mentioned that they had a monarchical form of government, as proved by the application of the words *raña* (in Kharoshṭhī) and *rājña* (in Brāhmī) to the names of persons such as Vijayamitra and Virayaśas.

The name Vijayamitra reminds us of Viyakamitra (Sanskrit Vīryakamitra) and Vijayamitra of the Shinkot (Bajaur territory, West Pakistan) relic casket inscription of the time of Menander. Another Vijayamitra, known from coins, was the father of a certain Indravarmā who was again the father of Aśpavarmā, the latter being a Strategos of Azes II and Gondophernes. The monetary issues of Vijayamitra of the Kulūta tribe and those of the grandfather of Aśpavarmā being of different numismatic conception and type, they cannot be regarded as identical persons. Further, Kulūta Vijayamitra, as we have already seen, flourished in the first century A. D. while his namesake of the numismatic records flourished about a century earlier. Vijayamitra of the Shinkot inscription (taken identical with Viyakamitra by some) was also an earlier ruler and hence was different from his Kulūta namesake.

It is in the course of excavations that the coins of Vijayamitra, Virayasas and other kings of the Kulūtās have come to light. Marshall[47] conjectures that they were buried in the early Kushāṇa period. The findplace of the coins being Taxila, this cannot be a conclusive ground for the supposition that Taxila was under the Kulūta occupation. Archaeological evidence shows that Taxila was under the Śaka-Pahlava rule and subsequently under the Kushāṇas from the first century B. C. onwards.

References

1. For these coins, see *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum* (Ancient India) by J. Allan, (London, 1936), (henceforth *CCBM*), pp. cliii, clvii, 279, Pl. XLV. 9 and pp. 282-83, Pl. XLV. 21-24; *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, by V. A. Smith, Vol. I, (Oxford, 1906), (henceforth *CCIM*), pp. 206,

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Pl. XXIII, 12; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (henceforth *MASI*), No. 61, p. 5. Discovery of another coin at Mathura was reported by M. M. Nagar in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (henceforth *JNSI*), VIII, p. 32. Coin No. 10 of *CCIM*, p. 203, may also be doubtfully assigned to the Agras on the ground of common devices like the tree-in-railing and the lion. The legend is, however, illegible.

2. *MASI*, 61, p. 3.
3. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 245.
4. *Ibid*, p. 300.
5. Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 153.
6. Cf. "...a date nearer the fifth century B.C. for Pāṇini appears more probable", V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Lucknow, 1953), p. 477.
7. IV. 1.99.
8. IV. 1.102.
9. *JNSI*, IV, p. 52. see also J. Brough, *Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, (London, 1953), pp. 124, 158, 163, 168. Agrāyana appears as the name of a grammarian mentioned in Yaska's *Nirukta*, 10.8.
10. See his *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini's *sūtra* V.4.36.
11. *Mahābhārata* III. 255, 20, (Nirnayasagara and Chitrasala editions). A variant *Āgneya* occurs in some editions. The correct form, however, seems to be *Āgreya*, as it is found in association with the names of the tribes such as the Bhadras, Rohītakas and Mālavas. It is to be noted in this connection that Rohītaka, country of the Rohītaka people, identical with modern Rohtak is not far from Agroha.
12. See *Journal Asiatique* (henceforth *JA*) 1915, pp. 34, 49, 65, 99. Also *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* (henceforth *JUPHS*), XV, 2, pp. 27-28, 33, 45. The text twice refers to Agrodaka (II. 18, 70), and assigns it to the tutelary yakshas, Mālyadhara and Muñjakeśa.
13. Cf. *Sūtra* 2.4.35. S.K. Belvalkar gives A.D. 470 as the approximate date of Chandragomin, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, (Poona, 1915), pp. 58-59. S.K. De, however, places him in the sixth century A.D. in *History of Bengal*, Vol.I, (Dacca University), pp. 296 f.
14. *Kāśikā* on Pānini's *sūtra* IV.1.99.

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15. Cf. *Sūtra* IV.1.81. the *Kāśikā* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* are respectively assignable to the seventh and eleventh centuries. See Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 35, and T. R. Chintamani ed., *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Madras, 1937), Intro, p. XIV.

16. For the evidence of classical accounts. See e.g., Diodorus, XVII.96 ; Curtius, IX.4. The identification of Aggalpura with ancient Agrodaka (or Agroda) and modern Agroha, was first made by Przyluski, in *JA*, 1926, I, p. 16f. Some are inclined to take the Aṅgalaukikas of Indian literature as identical with the Agalassoi, (Cf. Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*) 2nd edn., London, 1927, p. 8.

17. *CCBM*, p. clviii.

18. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, p. 279.

19. *Ibid*, p. 280.

19a. [The lion device was also used by the Ārjunāyanas, cf *JNSI*, XXXVIII, Pl. I.1. *JPS*.]

20. The discovery of an Agra coin at Mathura, already noted may be recalled here. M.M. Nagar, who notices this coin in *JNSI*, VIII, p. 32, holds "that there was brisk intercourse between Agrodaka and Mathura." The discovery of one solitary coin may not, however, be regarded as definitely indicating any such brisk commercial intercourse between these two places.

21. The coins of the Mālavas as well as the Vṛishṇis and the Śibis also belong to the same period.

22. P. L. Gupta points out that "while the coins having the word *janapada* mention the name of locality *Agrodaka*, to which the Āgreyas belonged, the others having the term *mitrapada* ignore the place name". *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 200. This has led Gupta to suggest that the Āgreyas (Agras) "may have had some sort of alliance with some other tribes or Groups" (*ibid.*) The omission of Agrodaka may be due to lack of space.

23. For the reproductions of these coins, see Princep's *Essays*, II, Pl. XLIV, no. 22; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (henceforth *CAI*), Pl. VIII, No. 20; *CCBM*, Pl. XIV, Nos. 11-12; Rapson, *Indian Coins* (henceforth *RIS*), Pl. III, 20; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (henceforth *JRAS*), 1900, Pl.6; *CCIM*, Pl.XX.10. [cf. Also *JNSI*, XXXVIII, I, Pl. I. 1-2, for a new lion-type coin of the tribe. *JPS*.]

24. *Op.cit.*, p. LXXXIII.

25. *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 106-07.

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26. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 208.

27. *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (henceforth *JOI*), XX, No. 4, pp. 435-36.

28. IV. 2.53. Like the Audumbaras, the Ārjunāyanas are also included in the Rājanyādi class.

29. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p.8.

30. If Fleet's view (*Indian Antiquary*, XIII, pp. 331, 349) that the Ārjunāyanas may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy settled in the Punjab is accepted, the Ārjunāyanas may be believed to have flourished in the second century A.D.

The connection of the name Arjuna with Central Asia on which much emphasis has been laid by Buddha Prakash (*Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, pp.93-94, 98) may show that Arjuna was a familiar name in the region. But the evidence is not sufficient to support his view that Arjuna, the great *Mahabhaarta* hero, originally belonged to Central Asia and later came to India. Of course, many things went to Central Asia from India and the name Arjuna may have been one of them.

31. I.95,76. Here 'Yaudheya' appears as a personal name and not a tribal designation; it is stated that Yaudheya was the son of Yudhishṭhira by his wife Devakī. Elsewhere, however, Yaudheya appears as a tribal name (e. g., II.50.14).

32. XIV. 25. For other references to the tribe in the text. See IV. 25; XI. 59; XVI. 22; XVII. 19.

33. *JA*, 1915, pp. 36, 69. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 27, 34-35.

34. II.4.122. It refers to the Ārjunāyanas as belonging to the Bharatagotra.

35. II.4.66. Like the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* Kāśikā also drscribes the Ārjunāyanas as belonging to the Bharatagotra. It may be noted here that Patañjali does not mention our tribe.

36. IV.2.86. The text belongs to the eleventh century A. D.

37. IV.2.66. Eggeling who has edited this work observes that in some of his manuscripts the name appears as *Arjunaphana* while in one manuscript the name appears as Ārjunāyana. There is little doubt that *Arjunaphaṇa* is identical with Ārjunāyana (Ārjunāyaṇa is a mistake).

38. Böhtilingk's ed., p. 434.

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39. H. C. Raychaudhuri doubtfully identifies Bāhudā with Rāmagangā, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 545, fn. 1.

40. *JOI*, XX, No. 4, fn. 20.

41. See fn. 29, above.

42. The fact that a type of Ārjunāyana coins bear some relation to the coins of the Northern Kshatrapas which were current at Agra and Mathura may be recalled in this connection. This numismatic relationship may suggest that the Śaka Kshatrapas were influenced, to a certain extent, by the Ārjunāyanas in their monetary issues, provided that an assumption is made that the Ārjunāyanas were defeated by the Śakas. If the Ārjunāyana coinage is assigned to the second century A. D., as we have done, it is to be held that the Śaka coinage influenced the coinage of the Ārjunāyanas.

43. *Hindu Polity* (3rd impression), p. 148.

44. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 787, 820.

45. *CCBM*, p. 158, Pl. XVI, 4. Both Marshall (*Taxila*, II. p. 787) and Whitehead (*ibid*, p. 841) have described this piece as made of silver and this mistake of Marshall and Whitehead has been reiterated by a recent Indian writer, see *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1964, pt. I, p. 74 fn. In answer to a query made by me G. K. Jenkins, Deputy Keeper, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, kindly informed me on a careful examination of the coin in question : "I can confirm from personal inspection that the coin is copper. I see no traces of silver on the surface and I think there is no reason to suppose that there ever were any. It is simply a copper coin. The weight in grains as given by Allan is 75.7", letter dated 6th February, 1964.

46. Credit goes to Bergny (*JRAS*, 1900, p.125) for the almost correct reading of the legend which according to him should be *Rājña Kolūtasya Vīrayaśasya*. He read the legend on the British Museum coin which was first brought to light by Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 14) and later presented by him to the British Museum. His reading *Kolūta* is not far from *Kulūta*, the correct form of the tribal designation.

47. *Loc. cit.*

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